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NOTES AND NEWS.

THE debate on the Indian Budget, as it is commonly called, is to take place next week, though, at the time of writing, it is not known whether the day will be Tuesday, Wednesday, or Thursday. Yesterday's (Thursday's) *Standard* mentioned Thursday as the probable day. The usual description of the debate promises to be more than usually inaccurate this year. The Indian "Budget," properly so called, does not in any effective way require the sanction of Parliament, and this year, as will be seen from our Parliamentary report, the Secretary of State does not intend to make the usual financial statement. "I have," he says, "already made one annual financial statement, and I do not propose to make a second." What Lord G. Hamilton did make (on the occasion of the Loan Bill debate) was a scrappy statement of the figures which were thought convenient for his immediate purpose. We warned our readers at the time that Lord George Hamilton meant to kill two birds with one stone, and it is to be hoped that next week some member of Parliament will call attention to the remarkable procedure which has been adopted. All that is left, it seems, is the motion to go into Committee. We comment elsewhere upon the most important topics which are likely to be raised upon this motion. It is said that Sir M. M. Bhownaggree, or somebody for him, has secured the first place in the ballot. If so, and if he submits the motion of which he has given notice, we hope that the House of Commons will protest against the employment of technical instruction—an admirable thing in itself—as a stick to beat higher education. If a division should be taken upon this amendment it will be impossible to take a division upon Mr. Herbert Roberts's amendment. This would be unfortunate, as it is highly desirable that members of the Front Opposition Bench should have an opportunity of voting in favour of a motion which *inter alia* expresses the view that the new law of sedition "should be repealed at the earliest opportunity."

It is understood that Mr. Asquith will speak in support of Mr. Roberts's amendment. But how about Sir Henry Fowler? His responsibility as ex-Secretary of State is plain, and cannot be shirked. Silence on his part at such a time would be deplorable. It may be worth noting that "H. W. L.," the well-informed Parliamentary gossip of the *Daily News*, wrote last Friday:—

> Sir Henry Fowler, having paired for the rest of the Session, leaves town to-morrow for Wolverhampton, accompanied by Lady Fowler.

But the Parliamentary representative of the *Daily Chronicle* wrote on Monday:—

> I am asked to say that Sir Henry and Lady Fowler have left town for their residence near Wolverhampton, but that Sir Henry will return to the House for some part of the remainder of the Session.

This is cryptic enough. But let us hope for the best—though, if it be true that Sir Henry Fowler has "paired for the rest of the Session," he cannot actually take part in any division.

Elsewhere will be found a full report of the speeches delivered at Westminster Palace Hotel on Wednesday last, when Mr. W. A. Chambers, Editor of the *Bombay Champion*, was entertained at breakfast by Sir W. Wedderburn, M.P., and some other members of the British Committee of the Indian National Congress.

Last week we gave some reasons for doubting the current rumour that Lord Elgin's successor to the Viceroyalty of India was to be Mr. George Curzon, M.P. The Exchange Telegraph Company now says it was "semi-officially" stated on Wednesday evening that the rumour in question is quite unfounded.

The Indian papers that have come to hand by the last mail are still full of Mr. Thorburn's speech and Sir James Westland's reply. The remarks of the latter on the Khyber Rifles seem to have given rise in Native military circles to a widespread feeling of surprise and distrust. Thus a correspondent of the *Pioneer* reports to that paper a conversation which he had with an Indian military officer who had seen considerable service on the frontier.

> He had read a translation of Sir James Westland's remarks, and was very anxious to ask me whether it was true that the Government had declared that they were not bound to send reinforcements in aid of the Khyber Rifles if the latter were hard pressed. He said if the tribes from among which the Rifles are recruited knew this, they would not come forward to the help of the Government as cheerfully as they did now.

But apparently Sir James was careless as to the ultimate effect of his words in such quarters as this.

The *Pioneer* also takes exception to Sir James Westland's principle that, as our contemporary puts it, "public criticism on matters of policy and on military operations should be withheld until the responsible authorities chose to make known the 'facts.'" Now in such cases as the burning of Shankargarh or the abandonment of the Khyber on August 23, it was some months before the official account was published. Was all criticism to be silenced during that time? "Assuredly the English public, even in bureaucratic India, will not subscribe to the principle of secrecy and silence which the Financial Member has put forward with such an air of assurance." As regards the Khyber we have not even yet had an explanation as to the reasons for its abandonment. But how absurd it is to object to criticism till the Government has published its own account, and then indefinitely to postpone the publication of some most important particulars.

But while India is so generally condemning the forward policy, the *Pioneer* has reason to think that a permanent garrison and barracks at Lundi Kotal are in contemplation, and worse still, a railway up the Khyber Pass. Referring to Lord George Hamilton's declaration of January 28 that "the maintenance of the Khyber as a safe artery of communication and trade is an essential measure whether viewed from the standpoint of your obligations to the Amír or from that of the protection of British subjects," the *Pioneer* thus sums up the case against the railway:—

> The disadvantages at all events are enormous. The railway would be costly to make, it would be regarded by the Amír as a threat, and it would involve the permanent occupation of the Khyber by regular troops. In other words, we should set up yet one more irritant amongst the tribesmen and we should establish one more isolated garrison, even while professing to revert to a policy of "concentration and conciliation"; and at the same time we should be just as dependent on the tribesmen to keep the pass open as we are now, for the Khyber Rifles would have to be maintained and tribal allowances would have to be continued.

It has often been remarked that the Anglo-Indian officials of the present day are less in touch with the people of the country than were their predecessors of a generation or two ago. But the existing magistrates do not suffer only from a greater want of sympathy and local knowledge, there is another evil—the growing tendency to place important duties in the hands of very young men. This is well exemplified in the conduct of Mr. W. S. Adie, Assistant Magistrate at Murshidabad, as recorded in the *Amrita Bazar Patrika*. According to that journal, Mr. Adie, while presiding over a criminal trial, and before he

had heard a word of the defence, electrified the Court by asking the counsel for the prosecution what was the proper punishment for the offence with which the accused was charged. This was a good beginning, but there was more to follow. The defence being asked to submit a list of witnesses, the magistrate refused to issue summonses for more than six of the twenty-five named, and called on the defendants to make their choice. This they refused to do; whereupon the magistrate said he would issue no summonses at all, and with the words "There goes your list," tore it up. He had, indeed, the grace to repent of this immediately after, but as the defendants declined to furnish a second list, he had to piece the torn bits together. Finally, after he had issued summonses for the whole twenty-five witnesses, as the accused were about to leave the court he detained two of them, and would have passed sentence on them, on the ground that they should have had their witnesses ready, if this had not been too much even for the prosecution. On the whole it seems to be as well that the High Court ordered the case to be transferred from Mr. Adie, even though, as his official superior, the District Magistrate alleged his irregularities were due only to his extreme youth.

A recent issue of the *Calcutta Gazette*, the Government organ for Bengal, contains the following notification :—

> An examination of candidates for recruiting the staff of the superior police officers in Bengal and Assam will be held in Calcutta in November, 1898, on dates to be notified hereafter. At this examination only such *European candidates* as have been nominated by the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal will be permitted to present themselves.

The italics are our own, and we draw attention to these words. May it not be that rules virtually closing the higher ranks of the Indian Police service to educated Indians go some way to explain the inefficiency and ineptitude which too often mark the Indian Police? And are not rules which debar Indians from competing for police appointments a direct violation of the Queen's Proclamation of 1858, which promised that appointments should be open to all the Queen's subjects without distinction of race or colour?

An Indian correspondent writes:—The ex-Governor of Madras, Lord Wenlock, distributing the prizes to the Students of the Royal Indian Engineering College, Cooper's Hill, on July 27, is reported to have said that

> there was one thing of special interest to which he wished to allude, and that was the position taken by the native Indian students. The Government watched with great interest the progress they made; but he was afraid that when they went out to take up their duties, they did not show such an extraordinary proficiency in grasping the details of their work as was necessary. Nor did they exhibit that promptitude and vigour in carrying on their work to successful issues which Englishmen did.

As to the reasons, if any, which prompt his lordship in making these sweeping accusations, we hear nothing. Those who have come in direct and intimate contact with Indian engineers of experience have always been struck with the thoroughness and accuracy of their work. It is a notorious fact that many engineering triumphs are due to the perseverance, labour and energy of the subordinates who are mostly Indians. But being subordinates they are obliged to hide their light under a bushel, and therefore it is their chiefs who get the unearned credit. It is a moot question how many Indians have been put in superior positions where they can exercise a certain measure of authority. In the days before the present *régime*, Indians had such positions of trust and responsibility, and to this day some of the ancient canals, temples, and roads testify to the skill, energy and originality of their makers. When the necessary facilities are denied them it is futile to inveigh against the energy and promptitude of the Indians. There is a well-known instance where the superior officer objected to his subordinate being taught the use of the theodolite on the inconceivably petty ground that his subordinate would know as much as he did, and might even surpass him. Need it be said that the superior was an Englishman? Let Lord Wenlock improve his opportunities by removing the disabilities under which the native Indian suffers and he will then have the melancholy satisfaction of seeing the Englishman occupying a position superior to the Indian, not by reason of knowledge, but through the all-governing necessity of finding "a proper opening for our boys."

The University of Edinburgh has, we are glad to learn, awarded the "Lorimer" Travelling Fellowship for the encouragement of the study of "The Law of Nature and of Nations" in foreign Law Schools, to Mr. S. Swaminadham, M.A., LL.B., Gilchrist Indian Scholar from Madras, who stood first in the recent LL.B. Honours Examination.

The *Tribune* of Lahore is doing a public service in exposing in a series of thoughtful articles the hardships to which the inhabitants of Garshankar were subjected under the plague rules until they broke out into rioting and disturbance, for which they have been severely punished. The "evacuation and isolation of the infected area" was, it appears, one of the measures which had been approved by the Punjab Government in the event of an outbreak of the plague. But the merciless hurry and severity with which the measure was adopted at Garshankar could never have been contemplated by the Government. On April 27 the Assistant-Commissioner on plague duty is said to have issued the startling proclamation that "to-morrow morning all the people in the city should get outside the city. And they will have to go to that place outside the city that we shall tell them (to go to) after fixing. And to-morrow night no one will sleep or stay in the city; all will have to sleep outside the city." It is difficult to conceive that this order, driving away the population of a city, men and women, sick and healthy, at less than twenty-four hours' notice, could have been issued by an English administrator ruling a district of England's Indian empire.

"When the 6,000 inhabitants of Garshankar were turned out of the town on the morning of April 28, there was not," says the *Tribune*, "a sufficient, or anything like an adequate number of huts erected outside to give them shelter, and the people had to remain out in the open during a particularly hot part of the year until supplied with materials for building huts." Facts like these are more eloquent than any words. It was under such treatment, we are to understand, that the people or a portion of them showed some resistance and committed some violence, and then the police fired upon them without orders, causing injury and death. The sequence of this transaction is that the "rioters"—not the police—have been prosecuted before the magistrate and sentenced to long terms of imprisonment.

If the correspondents of English papers had kept their countrymen at home informed of all the severity and needless suffering to which the people in different towns in India have been subjected under the plague rules, Englishmen would have been able to grasp the cause of the rioting of which we hear so much. Is it possible to conceive the population of any English town, or of any European town, turned out of their homes at twenty-four hours' notice, before proper accommodation had been prepared for them, and before the place where they were to go to had been fixed? And if the people of the town rose against the mandate and were fired upon by the police without orders, would the strongest Government in Europe have prosecuted the people and not the police? The facts at Garshankar have an ugly look, and thorough enquiry into the whole transaction by an impartial Commission should be insisted upon. We commend the matter to the notice of Parliament.

If a Commission be appointed to enquire into the Garshankar tragedy, the history of the last four months should come within its scope. The public should know the conclusions of such a Commission, especially on the following points: (1) Was the Assistant Commissioner justified in requiring the six thousand inhabitants of Garshankar to leave the city within 24 hours? (2) Was such an order reasonable and humane before arrangements for the accommodation of the people outside the city had even been begun? (3) Were the police justified by such slight resistance as was offered in using their guns, *killing nine men and wounding forty-eight?* (4) And was it an act of wisdom, after this sad occurrence, to arrest and prosecute forty-eight more "rioters"? In the interests of good government in India and of common humanity, enquiry into these points should be insisted upon.

The case of Garshankar reminds one of the case of Sinnar, where nearly six months ago a "plague riot" took place. Two Native officials were killed by the mob, while

Dr. Gwyther saved his life by flight to Nasik. No public enquiry has yet been made into the causes of this riot, and no report has been published upon it. The public have a right to know the facts. We learn from the *Mahratta* that compensation to the amount of Rs. 1,800 has been given by the Government to Dr. Gwyther on account of his destroyed chattels, while a miserable pension of Rs. 4 a month has been offered to the family of the murdered hospital assistant, and a slightly higher pension in the case of the other Native official who was killed.

The way in which "Press censorship" is worked in India is illustrated by an incident brought to light by the *Mahratta*. A paper called *Kala* (or "the Times") referred the other day to the rather frequent assaults committed by Europeans on Natives of India, and remarked grimly enough: "it was bad that the Natives should not possess strength or endurance enough to bear a few strokes or kicks given by Europeans." This satirical comment seems to have ruffled the temper of the authorities. The editor of the *Kala* was called upon to express his regret for making it. He did express regret, apparently to escape criminal prosecution. As one reads of such ridiculous incidents one wonders whether the Indian Government really hopes to make a nation affectionate and loyal by silencing legitimate criticism under threats. Such action of course can only foment the disaffection which it is presumably intended to prevent.

The cry from Calcutta still is: Is there plague here, or is it a false alarm? The popular opinion, says the *Bengalee*, is day by day becoming more pronounced that there is no real plague, and that all the hardship caused by severe plague rules was needless. Men like Dr. Mahendra Lal Sarkar, who have had far greater experience in the treatment of Calcutta fevers than any European doctors, are of opinion that the disease which is hall-marked as plague is a species of fever of the malarial type with which they have long been familiar in Calcutta. Their opinion seems to derive support from the fact that the so-called plague of Calcutta has not shown that characteristic of infectiousness which real plague has shown in Bombay and Poona. With the exception of one doubtful case at Bow-bazar, no case of alleged plague in Calcutta has been followed by similar cases in the same or in neighbouring houses. And the general health of Calcutta is reported good.

The retrograde Municipal Bill, to which attention has frequently been drawn in these columns, continues to be strongly opposed in Calcutta. The Calcutta *Statesman*, an Anglo-Indian journal edited by an Englishman, points out in a sensible article that the Bill, if passed into law, would be a death-blow to good administration. The sympathy and co-operation of the Native community, says the *Statesman*, "are absolutely indispensable to even tolerably efficient or tolerably honest administration of municipal matters. . . . . The inevitable effect of the passing of the Bill would be largely to deprive the municipal executive and the general body of commissioners alike of the sympathy and co-operation in question." We commend these remarks to such authorities at home as are really interested in the good administration of the Indian empire.

One reads with concern and misgiving of a disturbance which is reported to have taken place within the territories of the Gaekwar of Baroda. The affair appears to have begun with an attempt on the part of the Government of Baroda to survey Pilwai village. Survey operations are unpopular all over India, in British territory as in Native States. They mean in the long run a rise in rents, as the people know. The Rajputs of Pilwai seem to have resisted the survey. They assembled about two or three thousand armed men, and the Baroda Government despatched troops and cannon to the scene. Some lives, according to the report, have already been lost in quelling the disturbance, but it may be hoped that long before this tranquillity has been restored.

An "Anglo-Indian Journalist" of the olden time writes to us as follows:—"Professor Murison's review (in your issue of July 22) of 'An Unfortunate Biography,' that of General Sir Richard Meade, by Mr. T. H. Thornton, D.C.L., does an invaluable service towards the true reading of recent Indian history, more especially in regard to the dark story of the dealings of the Indian Government and the India Office with the Hyderabad kingdom. But it is with reference to another review or notes on that work, which appeared in the *Westminster Gazette* over the initials 'G. S. L.,' that it is my wish to speak just now. In that perfervid and *exalté* notice occurs the following passage:

'The relationship which existed between that splendid-mannered gentleman, but arch-intriguer, Sir Salar Jung, "the Talleyrand of India," and the subject of this memoir; between whom, notwithstanding their opposing interests and duties, the highest consideration and friendship was maintained—surely the best tribute to the fine temper of two essentially chivalrous men.'

Now with regard to that epithet 'but arch-intriguer, Sir Salar Jung.' Never, surely, have the incidental falsities of history been more sharply illustrated than in this misapplied and utterly erroneous phrase. To say nothing as regards that noble Indian statesman, the ignorant misconception or cruel misrepresentation implied in that term, and the perverted gloss sought to be thereby put upon Indian political history of the period, demand prompt and emphatic repudiation. The peculiar mischief of this partisan gloss is that it seeks or tends to shift the severe censure due to the real 'intriguers' on to the memory of their injured and departed victim.

"This is not to imply any reproach to 'Sir Richard Meade's statesmanship as Resident of Hyderabad'; for in this as in some other episodes of his eventful career, he was only an instrument in obediently carrying out the secret orders and instructions of 'superior' (but often subordinate and irresponsible) 'authorities.' To emphasise the strictly personal aspect of this belated misrepresentation, the notorious, though not yet fully revealed history of the persistent and malefic 'intrigues' with which Salar Jung was beset from within, but far more from without, only serves (as Dr. Murison has shown) with those who know that history to bring out in the strongest relief the essential nobility, the dignified temper, the disinterested loyal patriotism of this ever-to-be-revered Indian statesman. It was this latter quality that entailed on him a long course of the severest self-sacrifice and unmerited sufferings, which, no doubt, shortened his days. To talk of 'arch-intriguers'—some of them in influential if not high places here—they, since the great Minister's decease, have had a free hand, and have made havoc alike of the finances of the Hyderabad State and their own reputations. If Sir Salar Jung is to be spoken of, in the sinister sense, as 'the Talleyrand of India,' there comes an inevitable rejoinder. These 'arch-intriguers' who—they may say from 'political' motives—during so many years persistently persecuted the high-minded Minister, his Sovereign, and his State, can at best only shield themselves under the malign doctrines of Macchiavelli as depicted in the most telling passages of Mr. John Morley's searching dissection of that ignoble political theorist—albeit the part of Fouché would fit some of them much better."

"You may be interested (writes Mr. A. M. Bose) to hear of the two meetings I addressed in London on June 22 and July 4. On the first occasion, which was a crowded meeting of the Women's National Liberal Federation, held in the big room of St. James's Hall, I was specially glad to have an opportunity of preaching the 'Gospel of India' before Mr. Morley. Mr. Morley was the chief speaker at the meeting, and in speaking to the resolution thanking him for his speech and expressing confidence in the triumph of Liberal principles and return to power of the Liberal party, I was able to devote the main part of what I said to the various reactionary proceedings of the present Government in India. On July 4 I spoke at the Browning Hall on the occasion of a great demonstration in favour of greater unity amongst the English-speaking world, in which representatives from Canada, New Zealand, Australia, and the United States (which was represented by Henry George and his mother) also took part. I spoke of English policy in India, and pleaded for a feeling of unity and sympathy between the people of England and the educated classes of India as the best hope and the best policy for both the countries. The audience was most enthusiastic. Since then I was at Harrogate, and passing through and bidding good-bye to friends at Cambridge on my way thence, am now in London on the last stage of my stay in this country. Last Tuesday, the 26th, I was at a farewell tea-party and meeting at Mr. Roberts's,"

PARLIAMENT AND THE NEW LAW OF SEDITION.

THE new law of sedition marks a change in the views of the Indian Government which is not only out of harmony with the course of progress in England, but is especially dangerous in India. In England prosecutions for seditious libel are now very rare, while the practice of the courts and the interpretation of the law have become more and more favourable to liberty. Yet here in England the freedom of the Press is of much less moment, for the rulers being of the same race as the ruled can never be completely out of touch with them, and there exist many institutions, some of much greater antiquity than the Press, by which the mass of the people can make their wishes known and enforce them on the Government. In India also there has grown up a tradition in favour of liberty of speech and writing, a monument of the wise confidence which the Anglo-Indian statesmen of a former age reposed in the people of the country. But there are many reasons why this liberty is even more necessary in India than in England. The Indians do not possess those representative institutions which have existed here for so many centuries. The rulers of India are men of another race and clime, educated in different ideas and accustomed to a different civilisation. To the Englishman in India religion, customs, manners and ways of thought are all strange. Thus it is of prime importance that there should exist some channel by which the wishes, the dislikes, and the fears of the people may be conveyed to their rulers. It can scarcely be doubted that these reasons were in the minds of the statesmen who made the Indian Press free. But the force of these considerations has been greatly increased by all that has happened since. For many reasons the English official is now less in touch with the Indians. He is more a bird of passage; he goes home more frequently; and he is therefore more under the influence of public opinion at home, and less identified in his feelings and his interests with the country that he has to rule. Moreover, the Indian educated in accordance with European models is more likely to cross the Anglo-Indian's cherished prejudices than was the Indian of old time, who belonged to a world apart and could not be brought into comparison. Thus it comes about that the official of to-day is at once more a stranger in the country and has less intercourse with its inhabitants than his predecessors of one or two generations ago. And the more this is so the more necessary is it that a free and unfettered Press should exist as a means of showing the rulers what are really the wants and wishes of the people.

The tradition in favour of a free Press, which has been one of the most honourable results of the British government of India, and the need of a free Press to give voice to the opinion of the people are recalled in the amendment which Mr. Herbert Roberts proposes to bring forward on the motion to go into Committee on the East India Revenue Accounts, and which reads as follows:—

That, in the opinion of this House, the recent alterations made in the Law relating to sedition and the control of the Press in India, being a distinct departure from the traditional policy of the Indian Government in regard to the Press and to public criticism, demand the immediate attention of Parliament; and that, having regard to the conditions of British rule in India and to the exceptional part played by the Indian Press as the only medium for expressing the opinion of the people as to Government measures, and to the fact that such a policy of restriction and intimidation must, if persisted in, result in producing elements of danger to the Government of India, it is desirable that the legislation in question should be repealed at the earliest opportunity.

This, it will be seen, takes up a very general position, opposing all legislation which infringes the liberty of the Press in India, as a departure from a policy honoured by the support of the most eminent Anglo-Indian statesmen in the past, and bound up with the best traditions of English rule—a policy especially necessary in India as a country governed by aliens.

Nor must it be forgotten that the new legislation is not only dangerous in its general aim, but objectionable in its particular provisions. Attention has already been called in these pages to the objections which may be urged against each of the clauses by which the old law has been altered. For one thing it is made highly penal to bring or attempt to bring the Government established by law in British India into hatred or contempt, or to excite disaffection thereto. But how is it possible to expose the foolish or oppressive actions of a Government without bringing it into contempt, or exciting "feelings of enmity," which is expressly included under the term "disaffection"? How can a publicist express "disapprobation," which is allowed, without running the risk of his disapprobation exciting contempt or enmity in others? A writer tells the story of the Natus—of their imprisonment without trial, of the seizure of all their property, even in defiance of the law, and the cruel callousness with which now one, now another crime was alleged as the reason of their detention, while they themselves were given no opportunity for defence. Is it possible for generous hearts to read this without feeling enmity for the Government that made use of these Siberian methods, or contempt for the Government that stooped to such unworthy subterfuges? How can an Indian, who has known and felt the poverty of India, read of the reckless waste of blood and treasure in the war beyond the frontier without "feelings of enmity" rising up within him? It is part of the constitution of human nature that such feelings will be excited by tales of oppression, and to threaten those who excite them is to forbid the exposure and to prevent the redress of every wrong. Under the old law, loyalty was, with excellent good sense, judged by acts, and those who were ready to obey and support the legal authority of the Government were held to be loyal. Now it is the feelings excited in others that are to be the tests of crime, and woe to the man who denounces iniquity with too much success.

At the same time, the new law of criminal procedure puts a great and dangerous power in the hands of certain magistrates. Thus any one of certain magistrates is given the power of ordering any person who in his opinion disseminates, attempts to disseminate, or abets the dissemination of any seditious matter to find securities for good behaviour; and in the event of the accused failing to do so he may be committed to simple or *rigorous* imprisonment at the magistrate's discretion. This in itself seems a powerful engine for silencing the Indian Press without arousing the public interest and excitement of a trial under the law of sedition—a great safeguard against reckless prosecution in time of panic. But it is only when we recall the close connexion in India between the judicial and executive authorities, and the combination in the same person of administrator, judge, and head of the police, that we recognise the full weight of this most oppressive machinery. With vague and inclusive definitions of sedition to guide him, a district magistrate, or a specially empowered magistrate of the first class, has the power to summon any obnoxious editor before him, to bind him over in heavy sureties, to commit him to rigorous imprisonment if he fails to obtain them. If the editor gives the required security, and afterwards falls foul of the authorities, the same wide and elastic definition of sedition is ready to insure forfeiture. It is possible that under all the circumstances the harassed editor will hardly appreciate the benevolent mildness by which the imprisonment for default of finding security is limited to *one year* at the magistrate's sole discretion, or *three years* with the assent of a higher court.

This is the legislation which the House of Commons will soon have an opportunity of discussing. Then the leaders of the Liberal Party will have to make their choice between an acquiescence which will entail a full share of responsibility, or a repudiation which will be at once a vindication of the principles they have so long supported, and a message of hope and encouragement to the people of India. For this is not a case where the principles upheld in England would be unsuited to the circumstances of India. As has been already shown, the freedom of the Press is not less but more necessary in that country where aliens rule. If the leaders of the party of progress give a silent consent to this retrograde legislation, bred of panic and distrust, they will show themselves to the world as men who dare not defend their principles in the face of a hostile majority, or who will not make sacrifices for a cause which can bring them no support in Parliament or at the polling booth. It is true that India can give them no such support. But in the end those who palter with their principles will sink in the estimation of their countrymen. India is a touchstone to try men; and those who fail in the test will lose that personal estimation and trust which are the stay and crown of statesmen amid the shifting fortunes of the Parliamentary war. If they abandon and betray these suffering millions in India who look to

them for help, they will lose the confidence of their supporters at home, and the memory of the betrayal will blast their reputations for ever.

THE INDIAN "BUDGET."

IN view of the forthcoming discussion on the accounts of the Government of India, we think it well to summarise and emphasise the criticisms we have from time to time passed on Sir James Westland's last financial statement and upon Indian finance generally. There are several main points to which we would invite careful attention, and to the elucidation of which we hope some portion at least of the debate will be directed. Among these points the following are prominent :—

(1) The cost of the famine, plague and war.
(2) The influence of exchange.
(3) The increase of debt.
(4) The alleged buoyancy of Indian finance.
(5) The allegation that India has more than paid its way during the last 20 years.

Of these in their order. We say nothing here about the persistent optimism in which official utterances upon Indian finance are habitually clothed. We take that for granted—an obstinate and discreditable fact. Neither will we enlarge upon that conspiracy of complimentary concurrence which seems the settled policy of both front benches on Indian finance. We will not further discuss the meanness of the British Treasury towards the Indian Exchequer in withholding a substantial grant to afflicted India, while squandering its abundant resources on prosperous Egypt or on clamorous but bribable Irish landlords. All these matters call for severe comment from the few and faithful friends of India in the House of Commons. Here we will confine ourselves to the five specific financial points we have named above.

(1) *The cost of the Famine, Plague, and War.* Lord George Hamilton will make out these items of expenditure as big as possible. However much at the beginning of a famine it is the official cue to deprecate the sensationalism of the Press, or at the beginning of a war to talk confidently in small figures of its probable cost—once these calamities are past the officials all with one accord become lost in amazement at the skill with which they have weathered the crisis. For this laudable purpose that crisis must be magnified, and especially must the cost be made to appear enormous in order that the Finance Minister's skill may seem tremendous. To take the cost of the famine alone for the three years 1896-7—1898-9. The Secretary of State for India says it works out at Rx. 18,000,000. This figure is foolish or misleading according to the view you take of Lord George Hamilton's abilities. In the first place it includes in the cost of famine, *i.e.*, in extraordinary and exceptional expenditure, the annual famine insurance grant (including certain annual railway expenditure) for which specific taxation was imposed (and of course remains unrepealed to this day) twenty years ago. This *annual* grant, originally Rx. 1,500,000, has of late years only averaged Rx. 1,000,000. Even if we take the smaller amount, that means that Rx. 3,000,000 (3 years' grants) must be deducted from this Rx. 18,000,000 of extraordinary expenditure. In the next place, owing to the famine the Government made in the three years a net *gain* of Rx. 350,000 on irrigation as compared with a net *loss* of Rx. 1,850,000 in the three previous years (1893-4—1895-6), or an improvement from the Treasury point of view of Rx. 2,200,000. But in this precious estimate only about Rx. 1,000,000 has been treated as the improvement due to irrigation, so that another million has to be deducted from the big total. Again, if we take the railway receipts of 1895-6 (when they were swollen by the war traffic to Chitral) as a not unfavourable standard, the shrinkage of railway revenue during the three years 1896-7—1898-9 is only about Rx. 2,000,000, and not Rx. 3,000,000 as claimed for this generous estimate of the cost of famine. Hence another million to be subtracted. There are other points of criticism not easily reduced to figures, but we claim that this estimate of Rx. 18,000,000 as the extraordinary expenditure due to the famine for 1896-7—1898-9—made for the greater glory of the financial authorities now at Simla—is at least too large by Rx. 5,000,000, and is probably too large by a good deal more. For what confidence can one have in the untraceable figures of the Indian Finance Minister, when those which can be traced are found to be unworthy of trust?

(2) *The influence of Exchange.* After making play with his bogus estimate of the cost of the famine, Lord George Hamilton will then invoke the wonder and the applause of all men—and probably Sir Henry Fowler will boom benevolent approval — for the smallness of the actual deficits [only a matter of six millions] realised by the frugal Indian Government during these three trying years. There will of necessity be a reference to Exchange. But the point to which attention should be directed is this: At the most during the three years 1896-7—1898-9, Famine (Rx. 13,000,000), Plague and Earthquake (Rx. 1,000,000) will have cost Rx. 14,000,000; at the least a rising exchange, taking the year 1894-5 as the basis of comparison, will have saved the Government of India during those same three years the expenditure of that amount, namely Rx. 14,000,000. So that the very burdens which fortune with one hand imposed upon the Government of India she removed with the other. Lord George Hamilton made a calculation that in these three years the rise in exchange from its lowest point had saved the Government of India no less than Rx. 17,000,000—but we are content to claim the more probable figure we have named. Here then is the true situation at a glance :—

Cost of Famine balanced by **Exchange,**
Deficits caused by **War.**

It will be observed that the net deficit for the three years is estimated at Rx. 6,096,000; and the cost of war at Rx. 5,352,000.

(3) *The Increase of Debt.* Any Government can make Income and Expenditure balance—*for a time*—by a steady recourse to loans. This is the way of the Government of India, but it is not sound finance. Since 1876 about forty crores (Rx. 40,000,000) have been added to India's silver debt and about £70,000,000 to India's gold debt, not all for railways and irrigation works as the Government of India would fondly have us believe. We hope that the connexion between "India paying her way" and "India haunting the money market for loans" will be insisted upon at the debate.

(4) *The alleged buoyancy of Indian finance.* Indian revenues have enormously increased during the twelve or fourteen years: *but so has Indian taxation.* The revenues of most countries have a tendency to grow under the painful but stimulating effects of additional taxes. This is another point which requires to be driven home, when our self-complacent officials and ex-officials parade the prosperity of an over-flowing exchequer. INDIAN REVENUES ARE BUOYANT FOR THE PRESENT, JUST BECAUSE TAXATION HAS BEEN STEADILY INCREASING SINCE 1884.

(5) *India "more than pays her way."* The statement is simply untrue. According to the official accounts in each period of twenty years ending respectively with 1895-6, 1896-7, 1897-8, there was an accumulated *net deficit*—Sir James Westland's contention to the contrary notwithstanding. But if we ignore such details as deficits, the last twenty years in Indian finance have been characterised by large additions to taxation—by the imposition of new taxes, and the increase of old ones [*the revenue from taxes is nearly double what it was twenty years ago*]—by a steady enhancement of land revenue assessments, by enormous increases of both the rupee and sterling debt, by an addition of £2,000,000 to the sterling charges—if any and all these financial expedients constitute "paying your way," then all we can say is, God help the countries who "pay their way" after the manner and according to the methods of the Indian financial authorities. We trust that these five points in Indian finance will not be lost sight of on the night of the Indian Budget.

INDIAN RAILWAYS IN 1897-8.

By W. Martin Wood.

THAT marvellous statistical record and review, the "Indian Railway Administration Report" for the year ending with March last, is not yet available in its Parliamentary form, but copies of it have been handed out to a portion of the Press. In its issue of July 9 the *Economist* gave an admirably framed summary of the more salient facts and figures comprised therein. Availing ourselves freely of this timely service rendered by the leading

journal of economics, we propose to set out the larger statistics that exhibit the extent, the cost, aggregate traffic returns and financial results of the Indian railway system up to date. Avoiding comments as far as practicable, this dry process will serve as a basis of facts in regard to which readers can form their own conclusions and draw their own deductions in accordance with their own previous knowledge or prepossessions.

2. The TOTAL MILEAGE of Indian railways open to traffic up to date March 31, 1898, was 21,156, of which 766 had been added during the year, including the 400 miles of the Southern Punjab Railway, which shortens the route from Delhi to Karachi by 226 miles. Of new lines sanctioned and partly under construction the mileage is 4,298, of which 900 were passed during the year under report. Of the above total of 21,156, rather over two-thirds—that is, 15,583 miles—are owned by the State.

3. The outlay on open lines during the calendar year 1897 was Rx. 6,410,00, bringing the total CAPITAL COST of the whole Indian railway system up to December 31 as Rx. 259,570,000. The average COST PER MILE, as shown in the Report, was respectively for "standard" (66 in.), Rx. 15,660; metre (36·28 in.), Rx. 7,150; and "special" gauges (mostly 22 in.), Rx. 3,400. The return in rupees on the whole capital charge was in 1897-8, 5·04, and 5·20, and 5·78 per cent. in the two previous years respectively. In this average result for the year it may be noted that from the trans-frontier system of military lines, costing 15½ millions, the net return was only 0·14 per cent. The *Economist* sets out a table showing the net rupee return on each group of standard and metre gauge lines (omitting the military railways) varying, in the year under notice, from 2·61 on the Indian Midland and 2·99 Bengal-Nagpur (both standard gauge) to 7·47 on the Rajputana-Malwa (metre), and East India (standard) 10·59—this last being worked under favourable conditions as to fuel and more equable proportions of up and down traffic.

4. The FINANCIAL RESULTS to the State of "its guardianship of the Indian railway system" and its contract liabilities thereunder are shown as exhibiting a charge on the general revenues, that is a loss of Rx. 1,634,000 and Rx. 2,659,980 for the years 1897-8 and 1896-7—thus sweeping off entirely the 5 per cent. rupee profit on working mentioned above. Part of that loss—roughly speaking one-fourth—is, however, accounted for as comprising contributions to sinking funds and interest payments on lines yet under construction.

5. The diminution of GOODS TRAFFIC by reason of famine and of receipts from PASSENGERS because of plague restrictions caused large falling off in GROSS RECEIPTS during 1897-8 (which were Rx. 25,595,000) compared with the previous year; and this was mainly on the lines serving western India, on four of which the falling-off amounted to Rs. 1,590,000. On the other hand, there was increased movement of edible grain on other lines, of which the larger share fell to the East Indian. In the previous year the gross returns were swollen by transport of military stores and troops for the war beyond the frontier. That this diminution of gross traffic returns above referred to did not show proportionately in the net results of 1897-8 was due to the higher exchange value of the rupee mainly because of the closing of the mints.

6. By way of estimating the effect of the adverse and DISTURBING CIRCUMSTANCES in the year reported on, comparison may be made with figures of 1895, when normal conditions of traffic prevailed. Thus, although the mileage in that year was 1,400 less than now, the gross receipts were then more by Rx. 641,000, and the net earnings were Rx. 1,033,000 more than in this last year. The PASSENGERS in 1897-8 were 151,263,841, being nine and a-half millions less than in the previous year, while the "passenger miles" fell off by 496,661,164. On the other hand, this adverse year showed an aggregate increase on GOODS TRAFFIC—including military stores and live animals—of over a million and a-quarter tons, the total being 33,698,600 tons, the largest figure reached—rather over the total in 1895.

7. Here one passing remark suggests itself. These figures, both of passenger and goods traffic, seem large; but when compared with railway traffic in the western world it would be seen how far the expensive system of railway locomotion falls short of supplying what should and might be the requirements of the great peninsula and its teeming millions of people. The shortcomings of iron-ways to supply the need of cheap communication in an impecunious continent such as India, with its long distances and bulky products, have long since been demonstrated by Sir Arthur Cotton and other masters of this subject of economic dynamics.

8. To revert to the current statistics of this report: the estimate of NEW CAPITAL to be expended at direct charge on the State during the year was rather over ten millions Rx.; but the outlay was less by one million because of financial pressure, and the actual direct State outlay proved to be rather over eight and a quarter millions. Besides this there was capital expenditure by the old guaranteed and newer aided companies to rather over two millions; so that the total capital expenditure on all lines in India in the year amounted to Rx.10,961,300—according to the *Economist's* addition, though we make it only Rx.10,279,000.

9. The NET EARNINGS realised during the year amounted to Rx. 13,085,000—just about these odd figures less than in the previous year, but less by Rx. 1,033,000 than the net returns in 1895. The statistics that go to explain this adverse result are cited in our paragraph 5 above.

10. In the three months ending with March last there was considerable rise in the traffic returns, which with further improvement up to end of May amounts to an increase of Rx. 1,352,000 over the corresponding period in 1897-8. So that the prospects of the current year point to more favourable results for the Indian railway system, though dependent on many contingencies not easy to forecast.

11. There is one large factor relating to the direct AGGREGATE RESULTS of the Indian railway system that is constantly overlooked, and which is omitted even from the *Economist's* comprehensive review, that is, the scores of millions due to the Indian Treasury for arrears of interest or deficits paid up to the railway companies; these, as shown in our paragraph 4, are still going on. From 1858-9 to the year ending with March 1896-7, this heavy debt against the Indian railways amounted to Rx. 55,574,264. It will be far into the the next century before this huge arrears charge can be appreciably reduced—except by adjustments when terminating the contracts with the companies. But this will only be a transfer transaction. These accumulated disbursements from the Indian Treasury, since about 1850, have been paid partly from current revenues, but have mainly gone to swell the permanent general debt of India.

AN OLD FRIEND.[1]

If Mr. Jervis seems rather inexperienced in book-making, he is at any rate an admiring son of an excellent father. The biography is "a centenary tribute," Colonel Jervis having been born in 1796; and there has been no undue haste in exploiting his fame, for he died in 1857, forty years ago. The tone of hero-worship and religious conviction is rather overdone, yet the effect is greatly mitigated by the undoubted excellence of Colonel Jervis's character and the evident sincerity of his reverent biographer. If the book is somewhat stodgy, the fault is fully counterbalanced by the amplitude of fresh and interesting details.

Colonel Jervis was a man of incessant and many-sided activity. He belonged to the Bombay Engineers, and accomplished a vast amount of most useful statistical, geographical, and topographical work during his active service in India. He retired without taking up the appointment of Surveyor-General of India, which was in his offer, and devoted himself at home to the advancement of Asiatic geography and the education of the Indians. He conspicuously and honourably distinguished himself by his self-sacrificing efforts for the furtherance of national geography and the publication of correct maps on a large scale accessible to the masses. Eventually he succeeded in persuading the Government to establish the Topographical and Statistical Depôt of the War Department, of which he became the first organiser and director, and which developed into the Military Intelligence Division. The wide range of his activity and the value of his public services in his special branches of scientific work can be appreciated only by a first-hand perusal of this careful biography.

[1] "Thomas Best Jervis: as Christian Soldier, Geographer, and Friend of India." By W. P. Jervis. London: Elliot Stock.

A large portion of the book is devoted to Colonel Jervis's efforts in favour of educational and religious progress. Accordingly there is a great deal of intercourse with the missionaries, and much light upon many aspects of Native character, and upon the relation of these to the task of government. Indian readers will be especially gratified with his estimate of Indian character. "Had he been asked to choose an honorific title," says his son, "it would have been that of 'Friend of India,' such an affection had he for the people." Here is another remarkable example of the high appreciation of the Indians so conspicuous among the great Anglo-Indian administrators of bygone times, and so woefully rare in these latter days. We might quote many striking episodes, but we must content ourselves with one, which illustrates very forcibly the present as contrasted with the past:—

I was passing one day near the Mansion House (wrote Jervis), when I saw a great crowd collected, which I invariably avoid, but somehow was drawn into it inadvertently, when I perceived a poor Hindu on the ground, covered with mud, and dragged along by the hair and clothes. He was making, as they usually do, as much noise as possible, but it was evident he was sorely injured in body and mind. "What are you about?" I ventured to enquire of the policeman. "What has he done?" "Done, sir? Well, I have often told him to get away from this with his begging and his matches and what not; I can't get him to come along." I said: "Let me speak to him." Oh, to see that man when I addressed him in his own language! It moved even the hearts of the bystanders. Instantly submissive, anxious to comply with my orders, he rose, and said: "I will follow you, sahib, without a murmur." The policeman resigned his charge to me, simply saying, "Will you, sir, kindly go before?" "And I will follow you!" cried the poor Indian. The crowd shouted, and the poorest man in that mixed assembly said: "See now how readily and quietly he goes; the gentleman spoke to him in his own language."

Could anything more strikingly typify existing conditions? The Indian Government to-day is that policeman, dragging along the poor Indian by his hair and clothes. Where is the sensible passer-by who will interfere and speak to the poor fellow "in his own language"—the language of rational humane sympathy—and see whether he will not instantly get up and exclaim: "I will follow you, sahib, without a murmur"?

OUR LONDON LETTER.

(FROM A PARLIAMENTARY CORRESPONDENT.)

THERE was a debate in the House of Commons at the end of last week—on Friday—which if it had been heard by an intelligent foreigner must have made him rub his eyes and ask if this is the England which boasts so about her civilisation. The debate turned on what the Home Office is doing to protect the victims of dangerous trades, chiefly those working in the Staffordshire Potteries or in the match-making factories. The revelations about these trades have been at once startling and sickening. There are at this present time young women blinded and slowly dying in agony in the London Hospital from lead poisoning. Not long ago a poor woman from the Potteries managed to reach that institution—too late, as it happened—and in order to get there she had had to pawn her wedding-ring. And of course for the few who get so far as London scores die quietly at home. The part of Staffordshire cursed with this trade can show hundreds of maimed and wrecked creatures, while the average life of the potter is but a short one and anything but a merry one. Much the same condition of affairs prevails in the match factories. There, too, lives are being blasted; there, too, young women are rotting to death from phosphorus poisoning, so that matches may be cheap and dividends large. And yet we go on sending missionaries abroad—to India among other places!

The Home Secretary is utterly incapable of dealing with such a state of things. He is a slow, well-meaning, and rather dull man. He has drafted some special rules which are so inadequate that they would be laughable if the matter were not so horrible as to forbid laughter. These rules are just about sufficiently stringent to keep order in a nursery. On Friday member after member asked Sir M. W. Ridley to do a little more for these poor creatures—but no, Sir Matthew was bubbling over with sympathy and kindly feeling and humanity, and so on and so forth, all of which are of not the slightest use to the sufferers. But he would not budge an inch in the direction his critics wished him. He hoped all things; he promised to keep an open mind and an attentive ear; indeed, he did everything except doing something. The bad employer may well thank his stars that an easy-going, old-fashioned Tory is at the Home Office—the poor victim of lead poisoning and necrosis must of course take quite another view.

The House of Commons does not often sit on a Saturday, but owing to the extraordinary mess the Government has landed itself in connexion with vaccination there was a sitting last Saturday. The business was the third reading of the Vaccination Bill, and some of the Tories bitterly resent the surrender recently made by the Government to the opponents of the compulsory vaccination, which I described last week. So the Government had to listen to some "straight" truths, and poor Mr. Chaplin, who loves an out-door life, had to sit there on this glorious Saturday seeing the sunshine from which he was debarred, and listening to taunt and sneer and argument from his hon. and right hon. "friends." Of course the Tory revolt was a small thing numerically and it was overwhelmingly defeated, and my chief reason for referring to the matter was to comment on a remark made by Mr. Vicary Gibbs. He denounced the Government for its surrender to the conscientious objector in this country, and went on to point out that no such objection to obey the law or to submit to sanitary regulations was recognised in India. There he said the methods of the Government in putting down the plague had aroused much more widespread and deeply felt conscientious objections, but we had grimly enforced the regulations. Mr. Gibbs was right enough in his facts, but with his argument—because we enforce this sort of law in India we should therefore enforce it in England—I cannot agree. It seems to me to require to be put the other way about. As we do not prosecute and persecute this class of "offender" in England, surely we could be a little more considerate in India. Another keen thrust was given Mr. Balfour by Mr. Legh, a rebellious Tory, for he reminded Mr. Balfour there was very little respect for the conscientious objector when the Coercion Act was being carried out in Ireland. But I thought Mr. Gibbs's remark was after all the most significant. For it shows that the men who are ready to oppress the natives in India would like to extend their methods to this country too.

Another significant little conversation—one can hardly call it a debate—occurred in the House of Lords on Tuesday, which should have an interest for all friends of India. Lord Northbrook had a notice down on the paper in these words:—

To call attention to a statement made by Mr. Thorburn, Financial Commissioner in the Punjab, that 100,000 animals and 25,000 owners have been impressed in the Punjab for the recent frontier operations: and to move an address for copies of any correspondence between the Government of India and the Secretary of State for India in Council, and also between the Government of India and the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab, upon the subject.

It is hardly necessary to remind the reader that Lord Northbrook is a strong Unionist in politics, and has been both Secretary of State for India and Viceroy, so that he is not likely to take any view very hostile to the official position. At the same time he expressed the utmost surprise that the system of impressment should have been so extensively carried on in a very loyal province, and he wanted to know under what law this had been done. "I want," said he, "the regulation under which the impressment of men and animals is now carried on in India."

When I say that Lord Onslow rose to reply, the reader will anticipate that the "answer" was as feeble as if it had been given by Lord George Hamilton himself. Lord Onslow was a failure at the London County Council—indeed his party has bowed him out from the leadership—but he is good enough, apparently, to play at governing India. It struck me when he rose that probably no man in public life knows less than his lordship, unless it be his official chief. He began appropriately enough by saying that there had been no time to get information on this matter from India. Then in quite the Hamiltonian style he observed, "I do not know whether the statement is correct or incorrect, so I do not intend to challenge its accuracy." But he added that it would never do for public officials to criticise publicly the policy of their Government. This had been impressed upon Mr. Thorburn, it seems, and he had apologised. "Apologised," the reader will note—but not withdrawn the statement.

Lord Onslow's authority for the impressment referred to is the Bengal Code of 1806 as amended in 1825 and

applied to the whole of India. With unconscious and grim humour, he said "there is ample authority for impressment in India and for dealing with those who are dissatisfied." And he pointed out that even in England there is power to impress horses and other animals for purposes of war, so that the people of India were not much worse off—except that wars were more frequent. Not much worse off! The only difference being that whereas impressment is theoretically possible in both countries, it is carried out in one and not in the other—which does make some difference after all. It is the case of the vaccination and the plague treatment again. The law is compulsory in both cases; but in India it was enforced, pitilessly and without tact, in England it was a dead letter.

But to go back to Lord Onslow and his remark that he did not know whether what Mr. Thorburn had said was correct. This brought up Lord Kimberley. Surely, said that experienced old politician, they read newspapers in the India Office. They ought to have seen this statement long ago and telegraphed out for information. Lord Lansdowne then felt moved to say something, and his remarks took the form of musing ruminations more than anything else. "Anything of the nature of impressed service," he soliloquised, "is odious; but it is impossible that we should not rely upon it as a last resort." It was perfectly evident that Lord Northbrook was by no means satisfied. With regard to the point that horses and animals might in conceivable circumstances be impressed here, the noble lord retorted: "Yes, but here is a case not only of animals, but of 25,000 men also." Lord Lansdowne here interpolated that probably the men were hired along with their animals, and Lord Northbrook rejoined: "The statement has been made, and all I ask for is information, and that the information shall be laid before Parliament." Again the inept Lord Onslow rose, and practically refused to produce his authority, as being contrary to custom and precedent. There was something grotesque in such a man attempting to enlighten a man like Lord Northbrook on an Indian topic. Something of this sort appears to have occurred to Lord Northbrook, for he snapped out: "I think that for the Government to refuse to lay before Parliament the law under which they act in such a matter is a very strong exercise of their prerogative." "I didn't really refuse," began Lord Onslow, with a vacuous smile. He certainly did not assent; and apparently feeling that his position was a peculiar one he hastily skirted the Table, crossed the House and began a voluble explanation to Lord Northbrook in private. I don't know what he said, but Lord Northbrook did not look convinced.

CHRONICLE OF THE WEEK.

THURSDAY, July 28.—The American newspapers continued to discuss the probable terms of peace which would be offered to Spain, but nothing was really known about the President's intentions. He was said to be waiting to learn what the country thought before making up his mind. The Madrid Government was said to be anxious for an answer speedily, because it realised the immediate danger which Spanish interests were facing both in Manila and Puerto Rico.

In addition to a repeated protest by the Russian agent in Peking against the Hong-Kong and Shanghai railway loan, the Tsung-li-Yamên received a protest from France against the negotiations entered upon with Messrs. Jardine, Matheson and Co. for a railway between Canton and Kau-lung. The French ground of objection was that part of the railway would be within the French sphere of influence.

The London School Board decided to send a letter to the Duke of Devonshire complaining of his action as Lord President of the Council in striking out of a Bill a proposal as to a new Board school, after the Bill had been passed without alteration by Committees of both Houses of Parliament. This the Board referred to as an irregular proceeding liable to cause them great inconvenience.

FRIDAY, July 29.—The Washington Cabinet was in deliberation upon the terms of peace. The question of the Philippines was still undecided, but it was agreed that Cuba must be independent and that Puerto Rico and one of the Ladrone islands must be ceded, the latter for use as a coaling station. The conquest of Puerto Rico by the United States troops was being rapidly accomplished. Ponce, a town of 22,000 inhabitants, had surrendered without resistance, and was reported to have been occupied amid manifestations of joy on the part of the inhabitants.

The Grimsby Election still seemed likely to be a triangular contest, as Mr. Melhuish, the independent Conservative candidate, disregarded so far the appeals made to him to withdraw, and announced his determination of going to the poll.

The British South Africa Company and Mr. Rhodes and Dr. Jameson were sued in the London Sheriff's Court by one of the troopers who took part in the Jameson raid. The trooper alleged that he had been induced to serve in the expedition against the Transvaal by fraudulent misrepresentation, and claimed damages for the loss he suffered through the defeat of the company's forces and through being taken prisoner by the Boers. The company did not defend the action. A verdict for the plaintiff was returned with £500 damages.

SATURDAY, July 30.—Prince Bismarck died peacefully at Friedrichsruh at half-past eleven to-night. The end was somewhat sudden, as the change for the worse did not take place until three in the afternoon. News of the death was telegraphed to the Emperor at Bergen. His Majesty replied expressing his condolence, and decided to return at once in the "Hohenzollern" to Kiel, whence he would proceed to Friedrichsruh. The body was embalmed, and was to lie in state on Thursday. The interment was to take place at a spot on a hill near the residence of the late Prince. A large number of messages of condolence were received, and throughout Europe, as well as in Germany the event excited deep concern.

The United States Cabinet met again and adopted the conditions of peace which were to be offered to Spain. M. Cambon, with plenipotentiary powers from the Spanish Government, had previously had a conference with President M'Kinley, who, at the French Ambassador's request, agreed to two modifications in the terms of peace already virtually decided on, but these did not affect the resolve that the Spanish sovereignty in the West Indies must terminate.

The nomination of candidates for the borough of Grimsby to fill the vacancy caused by the resignation of Mr. George Doughty, on his becoming a Liberal Unionist, took place. Three candidates were proposed—namely, Mr. Doughty, Mr. Wintringham (Liberal), and Mr. R. Melhuish (Independent Conservative). The latter refused to retire, although a letter from Mr. Balfour on the importance of the issue was placed in his hands.

Professor Caird, who recently resigned the position of Principal of the University of Glasgow, died suddenly at Greenock from failure of the heart's action.

MONDAY, August 1.—There was no fresh news from Washington with regard to the peace negotiations. The Madrid Cabinet had received the terms set forth by the American Government and was expected to consider them forthwith. Throughout the United States a lively discussion was going on in the Press as to the future disposal of the Philippines. On the question of annexation there was much difference of opinion, but it was almost unanimously held that, whether the islands were annexed or not, the United States were bound to take effective guarantees that they should have good government.—Reports from Cavite indicated that the American troops had made good positions near Manila, and that the only difficulty in the way of investment and speedy capture of the city was the attitude of the insurgents under Aguinaldo. This leader was indisposed to acknowledge the authority of the American commanders.—General Miles reported further manifestations of friendship for the Americans on the part of the population of Puerto Rico.

The Paris correspondent of the *Times* said, "on absolutely trustworthy authority," that the Russian Government recently intervened to forbid the Persian Government from concluding a loan which had virtually been arranged with a group of British banks, and offered to advance a larger amount on the security of the Persian Customs. It was said to be probable that, in the absence of energetic support from England, the Persian Government would try to compromise by rejecting both schemes.

In the Bankruptcy Court, before Mr. Registrar Hood, the examination of E. T. Hooley was resumed. At the outset denials were made on behalf of various persons of allegations made by the debtor at the last sitting. Hooley said he was prepared to prove the absolute truth of the statements made by him, and he reiterated several of these statements, adding that he had cheques and other documents in support of them. He further said that he had received offers of money from Lord De La Warr and the Humber directors if he would retract the statements he had made at the last sitting. The debtor was further examined in regard to companies he had promoted, and payments he had made to various City editors. He gave £750 to Mr. G. B. Baker, the City editor of the *Pall Mall Gazette*, "to keep him quiet," and £3,000 to Mr. Duguid, now City editor of the *Westminster Gazette*. He was formerly City editor of the *Pall Mall Gazette*, and the debtor gave him the money to leave that paper because he was always "on to him" while connected with it. In further examination Hooley said that on Saturday afternoon "a gentleman" offered him £1,000 if he would say that the money given to Lord Albermarle was a present after the company had been brought out. He (Hooley) threatened to punch his head, and he left.

TUESDAY, August 2.—The State Department in Washington

issued a statement of the terms of peace offered by the United States through M. Cambon to Spain. The President did not now put forward any claim to a pecuniary indemnity, but required the immediate relinquishment by Spain of all claims of sovereignty over Cuba and the immediate evacuation of the island by the Spanish forces; the cession to the United States and immediate evacuation of Puerto Rico and the other islands under Spanish sovereignty in the West Indies; and the like cession of an island in the Ladrones. The United States would occupy and hold the city, bay, and harbour of Manila pending the conclusion of a treaty of peace which should determine the control, disposition, and government of the Philippines. If these terms were accepted by Spain in their entirety commissioners would be appointed by the United States to meet Spanish commissioners for the purpose of concluding a treaty of peace on the basis indicated.—Protests against giving up the Philippines without satisfactory guarantees for their proper government were becoming general in the American Press. The device of handing over their fate to a commission was regarded with distrust, and it was suggested that they should be placed under an Anglo-American protectorate. — From Madrid it was reported that the Spanish Government practically decided the main points of its reply to the American terms on Monday. The general feeling seemed to be increasingly in favour of peace, but it was felt that if Spain was compelled to accept the burden of the debts of Cuba and Puerto Rico she would be financially ruined.—News received in New York from Manila was confirmatory of views expressed as to the danger of complications between the Americans and the insurgents.

Wednesday, August 3.—As the result of the polling at Grimsby, Alderman Doughty regained his seat in Parliament by 1,751 votes. The exact figures were: Doughty (U.), 4,940; Wintringham (L.), 3,189; and Melhuish (C.), 204. This was a gain of a seat to the Government.

Polling took place in the Launceston Division of Cornwall to fill the vacancy caused by the death of Mr. T. Owen (L). The candidates were Mr. F. Moulton, Q.C. (L.) and Sir F. Wills (U.).

The Peking correspondent of the *Times* said that Sir Claude MacDonald, on July 24, made a strongly-worded declaration to the Tsung-li-Yamen, which he subsequently confirmed in writing, to the effect that Great Britain would not tolerate any interference of another Power with a British loan contract freely entered into by the Chinese for the purpose of building a railway completing a connexion between treaty ports where British commercial interests were predominant. The next day M. Pavloff reiterated his protest of June 11 against the Niu-chwang railway extension loan contract with the Hong-Kong and Shanghai Bank, endeavouring to dictate conditions to the Tsung-li-Yamen which, if accepted, would be equivalent to an abrogation of the British contract.

Thursday, August 4.—The result of the polling which took place yesterday in the Launceston division was announced. Mr. Fletcher Moulton, Q.C. (L.) was returned by a majority of 1,094 over Sir Frederick Wills (U.)—the voting being 3,957—2,863. The number of votes recorded for Mr. Fletcher Moulton was considerably larger than the number recorded for the late Liberal member either in 1895 or in 1892, while the poll of the Unionist candidate showed a decrease as compared with either year.

THE COMMITTEE ON CURRENCY.

STATEMENTS PUT IN BY MR. NAOROJI AND MR. DUTT.

In our issue of July 15 (page 26) we published a letter from the Indian Currency Committee to Sir W. Wedderburn, M.P., Chairman of the British Committee of the Indian National Congress, in which, while declining at present to examine orally the witnesses suggested by the British Committee, the Currency Committee stated that they would "be glad to accord their best consideration to any written communication which you may desire to lay before them."

In accordance with this suggestion statements were drawn up by Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji and Mr. Romesh C. Dutt, C.I.E., and have been forwarded by Sir W. Wedderburn, M.P., to the Currency Committee, with a covering letter as follows:—

British Committee of the Indian National Congress,
84 and 85, Palace Chambers, S.W.,
July 28, 1898.

Sir,—I beg to acknowledge receipt of your letter of the 5th inst., and with reference to the willingness expressed by the Indian Currency Committee to accord consideration to any written communication which I may desire to place before them, I have the honour to forward herewith copies of statements prepared by Mr. D. Naoroji and Mr. R. C. Dutt.

I have, etc.,
W. Wedderburn.

Robert Chalmers, Esq.,
Secretary, Indian Currency Committee.

The following reply has been received:—

India Office,
July 30, 1898.

Sir,—I beg to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 28th instant.

The statements by Mr. D. Naoroji and Mr. Romesh C. Dutt, which were forwarded therewith, will be duly laid before the Indian Currency Committee.

I am, Sir, your obedient servant,
Robert Chalmers.

Sir W. Wedderburn, Bart., M.P.

THE REIGN OF TERROR IN INDIA.

THE CAUSE AND THE CURE.

INTERESTING MEETING IN LONDON.

I.—By Our Special Representative.

It was with much interest of anticipation that I turned out at an unearthly journalistic hour on Wednesday to breakfast at the Westminster Palace Hotel with Mr. W. A. Chambers, the Editor of the *Bombay Champion*, under the genial presidency of Sir William Wedderburn. By all the rules of the game, Mr. Chambers might have been expected to be otherwise engaged—to be lying in durance vile in Bombay, or to be deported somewhere as a troubler of the peace of Indian officialism. He duly made his appearance, however, with Mrs. Chambers—no doubt his guardian angel; and it was further interesting to find his father there, hale and hearty, to witness the honour done to his distinguished son. The reception of Mr. Chambers was worthy of the occasion; for besides Sir William Wedderburn, the half-hundred present included many names well known throughout India, and not a few with very distinguished service behind them. Mr. A. O. Hume reminded one of striking episodes in the Mutiny, as well as of the foundation of the Indian National Congress. Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, the Grand Old Man of India, was briskly to the fore. Mr. Martin Wood was there, with a wide-awake eye on practical considerations. Dr. Sarat Mullick, with several of his countrymen, appeared for young India; and the Civil Service, politics, and journalism sent notable representatives.

Mr. Chambers is not primarily or principally a journalist. He is a civil engineer, and a journalist only by the way. Mr. Chambers was introduced by the Chairman in a pointed and pleasant speech, neatly framing the situation. He at once showed himself one of the canniest of men; with clear-sightedness and grit enough, but canny withal. He addressed himself to the stirring questions of recent Bombay politics with the discretion of the Indian editorial chair, as if the Government and the Press Committee had been standing with their bludgeons at his back within striking distance. The attitude was, of course, right as well as prudent; for, as we know, force is no remedy, and violence in any form plays into the hands of the enemy. I hardly think he made any point that is not already quite familiar to those that have carefully read the pages of India; yet not everyone there can be supposed to have done that laudable and instructive thing, and probably, therefore, some of Mr. Chambers's hearers were very much astonished at his statement, restrained as it was. He pointed out, for instance, that the management of the plague—the sole source of all the difficulties—was in the hands, not of the Bombay Municipality, which has borne the brunt of much misdirected censure, but of the Municipal Commissioner, who was a Government officer, appointed by and solely responsible to the Government. The troubles, therefore, arising from the action of the Municipal Commissioner are to be laid at the door of the Government itself. If Mr. Chambers drove home that fact—and he certainly put it very lucidly—he did a good morning's work; for it is a fact that will have to be very distinctly insisted on when the alleged incapacity for municipal administration comes to be more openly worked by the Government for the subversion of existing municipal institutions. Further, Mr. Chambers explained, as India has already explained, how smoothly the plague operations were carried out under the judicious and sympathetic administration of General Gatacre in Bombay, and how the troubles arose under the very different administration of his successor, Sir James Campbell. Exactly the same thing happened at Poona in reverse order: Mr. Rand's unsympathetic ways set everybody at loggerheads, and Colonel Creagh's sympathetic action calmed down all embittered feeling and conciliated the willing co-operation of the Indians. Without a single harsh word for anybody, Mr. Chambers showed clearly and effectively how the whole difference between the grateful satisfaction and the exasperated intractability of the Indians depended utterly upon the difference of treatment at the hands of the authorities. It was a strikingly illuminative commentary on the recent plague disturbances, and ought to be brought home to the minds of Englishmen in this country.

I was agreeably struck with Mr. Chambers's candid discrimination between the sources of his authority on Bombay and Poona affairs. He spoke of Bombay from what he had seen and heard with his own eyes and ears—first-hand evidence of the best quality, and strengthened by the earnestness and restraint of the expression. He spoke of Poona from his correspondence with trustworthy friends, on whom he declared his absolute reliance. It came to the same thing practically, but I fancied the serious candour of the speaker made a decided impression. Very striking was Mr. Chambers's statement that to his personal knowledge men had spent a couple of days in trying to rediscover their wives and bairns and pots and pans, all removed in their absence at work by zealous, if very indiscreet, officials. Well might he ask what our own people in the East End would think and say and do if they were subjected to such official treatment. Let us take the position home to ourselves. Of course Mr. Chambers ridiculed the bogey of sedition; the allegation, he said, could only be described as "silly," and indeed, he added, the Anglo-Indians were already ashamed of it. His frank comments on the brothers Natu were fresh and piquant; but whatever personal criticism they may deserve, that does not in the least mitigate the arbitrary and harsh treatment applied to them under the antiquated Regulation of 1827. From his description of the working of the new-fangled Press Committees, it was plain enough that he regards these engines of oppressive evasion of the law that "there is no Press Censorship in India" as doomed to early and ignominious desuetude. The point of the whole survey was simply the old story: our real trouble in India results solely from the official lack of ordinary human sympathy. No one, I think, could listen to Mr. Chambers's address without feeling that he had made that ominous fact uncomfortably plain. It was a refreshing experience to come into such close contact with a keen-sighted observer on the scene of action in Bombay.

Mr. Allan O. Hume next took the floor, and spoke with a warmth of conviction and of sympathy that was no less than touching, when one thought of the spirited action of the speaker in very trying circumstances during the Mutiny. I was irresistibly reminded of Outram's noble words: "The madness of a moment has not obliterated from my mind the fidelity of a century, and I can still love and still believe"; and I thought that Mr. Hume was then exactly of the same mind. Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, who was received with kindly appreciation, took credit for having moderated Mr. Chambers's early Radicalism, when he went out to India nine or ten years ago, and congratulated himself on the healthy results of his argumentation. There are not a few people in England, I imagined, that would have been strangely puzzled at hearing Mr. Dadabhai counselling moderation of views on the relations between England and India. But there it was. Mr. Martin Wood had the last word, and he employed it for the very practical purpose of commending INDIA to the notice of all who want to know what is going on in the Dependency. A very charming reunion, certainly; and it would have been very instructive to Lord George Hamilton and Sir Henry Fowler to have been there.

II.—BY OUR OWN REPORTER.

There was an interesting gathering at Westminster Palace Hotel on Wednesday morning last (August 3), when Sir W. Wedderburn, M.P. (Chairman of the British Committee of the Indian National Congress), and Mr. W. C. Bonnerjee, Mr. A. O. Hume, C.B., and Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji (members of the British Committee) entertained a party at breakfast to meet Mr. W. A. Chambers, editor of the *Bombay Champion*, on his return to England. Sir W. Wedderburn, M.P., presided, and the vice-chairmen were Mr. A. O. Hume, C.B., and Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji. Mr. Bonnerjee was unavoidably absent. Among those present were Mr. and Mrs. W. A. Chambers, Dr. G. B. Clark, M.P., Mr. W. Jones, M.P., Mr. J. G. Swift MacNeill, M.P., Mr. E. H. Pickersgill, M.P., Mr. H. J. Wilson, M.P., Mr. A. M. Bose, Mr. W. S. Caine, Mr. J. Chambers, Mr. T. J. Desai, Mr. J. Dods Shaw (of the Press Association), Mr. Gordon Hewart (editor of INDIA), Mr. C. H. Hopwood, Q.C., Mr. Spencer Leigh Hughes (of the *Morning Leader*), Mr Jeremiah Lyon, Mr. F. S. Marvin, Mr. H. Morgan-Browne, Dr. Sarat Mullick, Professor A. F. Murison, LL.D., Mr. H. J. Reynolds, C.S.I., Mr. Harold Spender (of the *Daily Chronicle*), Mr. S. H. Swinny, Mr. C. H. Whish, I.C.S., and Mr. W. Martin Wood.

Breakfast was served at 9 30, in a room tastefully decorated with flowers. After breakfast,

Sir WILLIAM WEDDERBURN said: Mr. Chambers and Gentlemen,—You will remember that when King David was to be chastened he was allowed to elect one of three evils, famine, war, or pestilence, but during the last year or so poor India has had to suffer all three of these calamities at once; and further she will continue for a long time to suffer from the after-effects of these calamities, which are almost worse than the calamities themselves. (Hear, hear.) Famine, war, and plague have all caused lasting injury to India's resources But in addition to this, the measures taken by the Government to combat the plague have left behind them a fatal legacy of antagonism between the rulers and the ruled. (Hear, hear.) I have no hesitation, gentlemen, in saying that such antagonism, showing itself in excessive severities on the one hand and in resentment and almost despair on the other, constitute the greatest possible danger to the success and even the existence of our rule. The question is, how to get rid of this antagonism, and to re-establish friendly relations between the rulers and the ruled? I believe this can only be done if British public opinion will make itself acquainted with the true facts of the case, and will exercise a real controlling influence over Indian affairs. (Hear, hear.) The first step is to get at the real facts; and I am therefore very glad to be able to introduce to you our guest, Mr. Chambers, who has been an eye-witness of these occurrences. He is an independent English journalist, who has kept his head when many of those in authority have given way to panic. His evidence is therefore well worth hearing. (Hear, hear.) Accordingly one or two friends have joined me in inviting you to meet him and hear his experiences at first hand; and we desire at the same time to give him a cordial welcome on his return to England, and to express to him our admiration for the courage and patriotism with which, in his journal the *Bombay Champion*, he has stood up for justice and common sense in our Indian administration. (Cheers.) Owing to the late period of the Session a good many of our Parliamentary and other friends who would gladly have been present have already left town, and could not be present. Among those from whom we have received expressions of regret at their inability to be present are:—Lord Kinnaird, Sir Wilfrid Lawson, M.P., Sir Charles Dilke, M.P., Sir John Leng, M.P., Sir Joseph Pease, M.P., Mr. Augustine Birrell, Q.C., M.P., Mr. T. Burt, M.P., Mr. F. Cawley, M.P., Mr. J. H. Dalziel, M.P., Mr. R. B. Haldane, Q.C., M.P., Mr. Herbert Lewis, M.P., Mr. Justin McCarthy, M.P., Mr. Herbert Roberts, M.P., Mr. W. S. Robson, Q.C., M.P., Mr. Samuel Smith, M.P., Mr. Robinson Souttar, M.P., Mr. C. E. Schwann, M.P., and Professor Stuart, M.P. We have also received letters of regret from Sir Richard Garth, Q.C., Sir John Phear, Sir George Birdwood, Mr. W. P. Byles, Mr. E. T. Cook, Mr. A. E. Fletcher, Mr. W. H. Grenfell, Mr. J. Seymour Keay, Mr. H. W. Massingham, and Mr. T. Fisher Unwin. Perhaps I may read one or two of the letters. Sir William Hunter writes:—

"I much regret that I am unable to accept Sir William Wedderburn's kind invitation to breakfast on August 3. I should have liked much to meet Mr. Chambers, and with best wishes for a successful party, I remain, sincerely yours."

Mr. A. J. Wilson (editor of the *Investors' Review*) writes:—

"It is very kind of Sir William Wedderburn to think of me, and I should like very much to meet Mr. Chambers, whose paper I now and then see and both respect and admire. But I cannot come, unfortunately. Since I turned my own *Review* into a weekly, Wednesdays and Thursdays are days of extreme pressure with me, and I cannot spare even half-an-hour. Therefore I am obliged to say 'no' to Sir William's kind invitation.

"Pray convey my thanks and acknowledgments to him. I hope the gathering will be successful in warming hearts and in giving renewed courage to Mr. Chambers to go on fighting the good fight for India—India that might be so prosperous and happy and is withal so miserable."

And Mr. Romesh C. Dutt, C.I.E., writes from Harrogate:—

"Being away from town just now, I greatly regret I am unable to accept Sir W. Wedderburn's kind invitation to breakfast for August 3 to meet Mr. Chambers. Mr. Chambers has done splendid work in India, and we only honour ourselves by showing our appreciation of such sterling and rare service."

Looking from a distance at the plague operations, it appears to many of us that the Indian authorities have had a striking object-lesson both at Poona and Bombay. (Hear, hear.) When they acted in defiance of Indian feeling, riot and outrage was the result; but when in the very same places they placed matters in the hands of prudent and conciliatory officials like General Gatacre and Colonel Creagh everything went well; not only has there been no disturbances, but at the conclusion of their work these officers left amid universal expressions of goodwill and gratitude. (Cheers.) In giving his personal experiences I shall be glad if Mr. Chambers will tell us whether we have judged rightly with regard to the proper mode of dealing with such national disasters. I have very great pleasure in introducing to you Mr. Chambers. (Cheers.)

Mr. CHAMBERS, who was loudly cheered on rising, said that had he been speaking in Bombay he would have had to be very careful indeed in his remarks. Indeed he would first have committed them to paper in order to prevent his tongue from running away with him. (Laughter.) He had many friends in Bombay whose interests he was bound to consider when speaking on their behalf in this country, and he was bound consequently to be very careful as to what he said even in this freer atmosphere. He believed he could claim to be an Indian expert. He had lived in India for the last nine years, and during that time he had been in active alliance with the educated Indians in their struggle for the rights of British citizenship. Among other things he enjoyed the unique honour—for a European—of being elected by the ratepayers to a seat on an Indian Municipal Board—(hear, hear)—and he had been deputed by representative Indian citizens to put their case whenever opportunity offered before the English people. They had heard the official story of the political troubles through which India had recently passed, and it was only fair that they should now hear the popular version. He would first start with a description of the plague operations of Bombay, because plague was the beginning of all their troubles. Of these he had personal knowledge. Of the Poona operations he had no personal knowledge, but he had been, and still was, in intimate correspondence with representative men of that city, and he imagined he could place the whole controversy before them in a correct light. (Hear, hear.) When the plague first broke out in Bombay the authorities and the public knew nothing of the disease, and naturally there were many advisers. The Anglo-Indian class used the plague as a means by which they could discredit the Bombay Municipality—a "Native" institution—and the demand was made by that class that the Municipality should be abolished. The Indian public on the other hand, vehemently declared that the Municipality had as much to do with the outbreak as the man

in the moon. He wished them to understand the exact position of the Bombay Corporation, and what he said in this respect applied generally to all Indian municipal boards. The Bombay Corporation had absolutely no executive power. (Hear, hear.) Such powers were vested in an officer appointed by the Government, called the Municipal Commissioner, in whose hands was all power, and he could practically do as he pleased in all matters connected with the suppression of epidemics. The Corporation of course had to supply the necessary funds, a duty which even its most bitter opponent did not dare assert it had neglected. So much, then, for the libels circulated in reference to the Bombay Corporation. If the plague had not been stamped out in the commencement, that failure did not rest with the members of the Bombay Corporation, but with the officer appointed by the Government. However, he did not think that that official deserved censure, for no man foresaw or could help the outbreak; and when the plague did appear everyone in Bombay—European and Indian—did his utmost to avert the impending calamity. But unfortunately for the good name of the Bombay Corporation the Anglo-Indians had their way, and the Government appointed a committee to which they deputed the work of plague suppression. While General Gatacre—(cheers)—was at the head of that body, everything went well. After he retired everything went ill. General Gatacre personally saw all things for himself, and he never allowed anyone to do the more delicate work—such as house searching and so forth—unless he was certain that those he thus employed were competent and sympathetic. The General would go with soldiers, it was true, but the soldiers were not allowed in the dwellings of the people; they were kept on one side—to be used if force were required against the bad characters which were to be found in all large cities—but thanks to his tact and large-heartedness force never was wanted. General Gatacre would give the children sweets, he would reason with and gain the confidence of the parents, and he employed the educated to explain to the ignorant. (Hear, hear.) As a natural result everything was well. Unfortunately, when the plague disappeared, the General left Bombay—for service, he believed, in Egypt—and when the plague visited the city again his successors were not so fortunate in their operations. He (Mr. Chambers) did not wish to blame anyone unnecessarily, but duty to those he represented compelled him to say that the Bombay Plague Committee, after the retirement of General Gatacre, was a failure. Nothing seemed to go right with them. Instead of permitting the people to reside in temporary huts on the outskirts of Bombay, they confined them to the quarters in which cases had occurred, and as might have been expected the unfortunates were maddened with fear. It was also a fact that the subordinates upon whom they were obliged to rely were not drawn from the more responsible classes, and rumours of gross oppression were rife. He knew that incidents had taken place where a man, on returning from his day's work, found his household goods on the pavement, the whitewashers in charge of his home, and his wife and children taken away to a hospital or segregation camp the exact locality of which no one knew. And the grief-stricken man had to search the town—possibly for two days—before he found his wife and little ones. If a person wished to leave Bombay, he met with the greatest difficulty in getting a pass, and when he did get it, he generally was quarantined for ten days at his journey's end. No doubt there was need for these drastic measures, but they could quite understand that the public were discontented and rebellious in consequence of such proceedings. The point he wished to press home was that any public, oriental or otherwise, would have protested, and that there was no political motive or organisation behind such discontent. There was no sedition. It was merely a protest—an angry and ignorant, but still a natural protest against an unusual and an autocratic procedure. Those who knew of this discontent were afraid to speak because the Government, armed with the new law of sedition, was merciless, and matters were allowed to take their course, which as they knew culminated in a serious riot, which, however, did one thing—it led to the abolition of the Plague Committee; and no one, not even the Anglo-Indians, regretted its downfall. He would now turn to Poona. What happened in Bombay under the Plague Committee happened in Poona under the late Mr. Rand. He had not the slightest desire to cast any reflection on the memory of that able and zealous official, but the truth must be told. Mr. Rand was not the man for the post. He lacked sympathy—he was not a General Gatacre. For when Poona had a General Gatacre in charge of her plague operations, as she eventually did in the person of Colonel Creagh, everything went well. Sympathy with the feelings—prejudices, if they liked—of the people resulted in peace in Poona, just as sympathy had been similarly followed in Bombay. And want of sympathy led to the opposite in both places. The mention of Poona naturally led to the assassination of Mr. Rand and Lieutenant Ayerst. When those murders startled and horrified India, the emotions of the Anglo-Indian and the Indian communities were somewhat different. The Anglo-Indian community were amazed at the audacity of a "Native" who could shoot a couple of Englishmen; the Indians were stricken with horror and fear—horror at the crime, and fear at that which might and in fact did follow. He did not wish to refer to the outburst of racial anger which overwhelmed them all, for he was of opinion that almost every Anglo-Indian was now ashamed of that outburst and would gladly forget it. But be that as it might, there could be no doubt that those murders led to the trial and imprisonment of Mr. Tilak and the deportation of the Natu brothers. Just before he (Mr. Chambers) left India, Mr. Crowe, the judge who tried the murderer at Poona, stated in public assembly that there was no evidence to show that the people of Poona knew anything of the crime before it was perpetrated, and after such a statement as that, those who had been so reckless in their denunciation of the people of that place ought to hold their peace for ever. As to the Natu brothers, he was strongly of opinion that these men were absolutely guiltless of any offence. He had with him a statement of their case which he had been asked to hand to Sir W. Wedderburn. He wished to explain that although these men had been released from gaol they were still being treated as State prisoners and all their property had not been handed back to them. Personally he had little political sympathy with the brothers. The elder was an orthodox Hindu who probably would not shake hands with him, and the younger was simply a man of pleasure who knew nothing of politics, but kept racehorses and was a not altogether desirable product of British influence and education. The accusation against them that they had intimidated a nurse and bribed the police they declared to be absolutely without foundation. They had not had an opportunity afforded them of rebutting the charge and only asked to be placed on their trial—(hear, hear)—and with regard to the nurse the only woman they could suppose had laid the information was a European midwife against whom the elder Natu had had to bring an action in the Small Causes Court and with whom he had had disputes. But reverting to the murders and riots he repeated most emphatically that there was no political significance attaching to them: they were the outcome of the frenzied and frightened protest of the people against regulations which they did not understand. After his experience he had come to the conclusion that amongst the Natives fear of the plague operations was greater even than the fear of death. A Hindu would far rather die surrounded by his family than escape the plague in a hospital to which he was strange and where he was surrounded by people whom he did not know. To say that the people of India was seditious was absolutely silly: they were too mild and too soft-hearted to be seditious. (Hear, hear.) As to the new law of sedition in India, it was too absurd for words, and the Government, he hoped, would never be so foolish as to attempt to put it into force. There was one thing however they were doing; the Government had established in the Bombay Presidency certain Press Committees—advisory committees, they were called—and on them were superintendents of police, the magistrates, and people of that character. It had happened recently, when an Indian editor had made a statement which was not accurate or one which was said to be "seditious," that the unfortunate man had been sent for by the Collector and asked to "explain." This might not be terrorising the Press, but it looked uncommonly like it, and these committees ought to be well watched by the English public. In conclusion, he asked them not to believe all the stories sent to them from India, but to remember that Anglo-Indians were Tories of the Tories, and as a consequence were unable to take a fair view of political matters. Indians were not seditious, nor were they turbulent, nor were they disloyal. It was safer for Europeans to go about in India than in some parts of London. All that the Indian people wanted was a little sympathy and a little kindly attention from the English public; with these all would be well. But if they persisted in telling the Indians that they were seditious and turbulent they would end by making them so, which would be the greatest calamity that could befall India and, he ventured to add, a disastrous thing for England. (Cheers.)

Mr. Hume said they had heard with the deepest interest the realistic and eloquent presentation of the state of affairs which recently prevailed in Bombay and Poona from their friend Mr. Chambers. Those at home in England who were old Indians, and who had lived amongst the people and loved and understood them, were from the first aware that the troubles which had occurred were simply due to the blunders of the Administration. They had themselves had to deal with angry mobs, and they knew perfectly well that, if properly managed, the natives of India were always accessible to reason. They could always be led by kindness, and it was only when the people who were controlling them were imbued with selfish and class prejudices that these lamentable results were produced. It was nearly fifty years since he first went to India, and therefore his experience fairly enabled him to judge of the character of the natives. They had been very glad to hear what Mr. Chambers said, because his statements confirmed the *à priori* conclusion to which they had come, namely, that there had been no political significance in the outbreaks at all, that there had been no sedition in the proper sense of the word, and that there had simply been an exasperated, despairing people, driven into a corner by the blunders of the Administration. He was very glad Mr. Chambers put that point to them very clearly in regard to Bombay and Poona. In Bombay they had begun with a good man, who dealt with the people in a conciliatory spirit, and who never got into trouble with them. But when they lost him they got hold of another man who did nothing but arouse their antagonism. In Poona they began with a man who certainly caused irritation. He wished to say nothing personally against Mr. Rand. He was sorry for the fate that had befallen him. He was sorry he had been sacrificed to public clamour, but they could not overlook the fact that anyone who disregarded the feelings of the people must sooner or later come to grief. It was only after Mr. Rand was replaced by Colonel Creagh that the people were peaceable. Colonel Creagh did not run contrary to the wishes and aspirations of the people of India, and the result was that when he left several months later the whole of the Natives united in presenting him with testimonials, and in speaking of him in terms of the uttermost regard. In these cases they had two simple examples of the way in which it was advisable to govern the people of India, for undoubtedly General Gatacre's and Colonel Creagh's names had become household words in that Empire. As against those two officers they had the cases of two men who, representing the official system, had disregarded the wishes and opinions of the people, and they had heard from Mr. Chambers what had been the result of that system of administration. (Hear, hear.) They had very strong reasons for being rejoiced at the presence of Mr. Chambers. He went out to India a good Radical, and, unlike most of his fellow-countrymen, when he came in contact with the weaker race there he did not cease to be a Radical and become a Tory. That was, he was sorry to say, what most of the men who went out to India became. He had been grieved beyond measure at the manner in which Englishmen, who at home had been strong and stout Radicals, had in about a year turned Tory in India. It had been well said that he who was true to God was true to man, and that was what many forgot. They honoured Mr. Chambers for his consistency, for his

earnest support of the cause of justice and liberty on behalf of the people of India, and they were glad to know that he had so well maintained those principles. (Hear, hear.) Mr. Chambers had told them very little about himself. He held a position in Bombay which was by no means enviable. He had to exercise the utmost discretion, for undoubtedly the Government would have put him in gaol if he had given them the slightest opportunity. And why would they have done so? Simply because he was telling the truth, and in that kind of autocracy which existed in India to tell the truth was one of the greatest crimes that could be committed. (Hear, hear.) They would rather, indeed, put up with murder than have the truth told in regard to their doings. Mr. Chambers had had to act in times of great danger and of risk to himself, and they could not do otherwise than tender him a hearty welcome on his return to this country, and offer him their cordial wishes for the keen enjoyment of that well-earned holiday which he was about to take. When he returned to India they would shake hands with him and wish him "God speed," and hope that in his future career he would be able to render equally good service both to India and to this country. (Cheers.)

Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji said he was very glad to have the opportunity of saying a few words in respect to Mr. Chambers personally. He knew that gentleman before he went to India, and he had some conversation with him. At that time Mr. Chambers possessed some very drastic ideas in regard to British rule in India, and it was very difficult indeed to get them out of him. But now he had returned, and he had confessed the error of his opinions. When Mr. Chambers went to India he condemned the British rule there and seemed to think that it would be good for India if that rule were to cease. But he did not join that majority of Englishmen who forgot their instinctive and natural love of liberty and justice and fair play, and degenerated into absolute oriental despots. On the other hand, he did join that honourable minority who sought to give fair play to the wishes of the natives of India, and to study their feelings and convictions. Mr. Chambers went to India full of fury and foam against British rule there; he, however, came back with very different opinions. When he arrived in India he associated himself with thoroughly fair-minded Englishmen. He made himself acquainted with the opinions of the educated Indians, and in the course of nine years he had come to the conclusion that the only thing that was good for India was that British rule should continue. For at the dinner that was given to him prior to his leaving Bombay, he confessed he was perfectly satisfied that the educated Indians were really and sincerely desirous of a long connexion with Great Britain; and that they wanted to remain British subjects and citizens. (Hear, hear.) He was perfectly satisfied that the educated Indians were decidedly sincere in their professions that for the sake of the greatest good of India they could not do better than maintain their connexion with the British empire, on the condition that the British Government should, indeed, be a British Government, and not an un-British Government, and that the Indian people should be British citizens and not British helots. That was the condition which all educated Indians had put forward without the least hesitation in the past. The Indian community were satisfied, wrongly or rightly, that there was a sincere wish and sincere faith in that view on the part of the natives of that country, and that if Indians were treated as really partners in the British empire that empire would gain ten times more than it did at present the affections of the Indians. He, therefore, was glad to know that Mr. Chambers had returned to this country convinced of that view. He joined himself heartily with the Chairman and with Mr. Hume in their cordial welcome of Mr. Chambers, and in thanking him for the eloquent and impressive address which he had delivered to them, and which everybody he hoped would reflect upon and circulate as widely as possible. In conclusion he begged to propose a vote of thanks to the Chairman, who had brought them together on such an interesting occasion. (Cheers.)

Mr. Hopwood seconded the motion, and embraced the opportunity in order to testify to his deep regard for the Chairman, whose career in the House of Commons he had watched with so much interest. He hoped that Sir William would accept their sincere thanks for having enabled them to listen to such an interesting address. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. Martin Wood said it was sometimes complained by members of the British Parliament that they had no material which would enable them really to understand Indian questions, and he thought that reproach had now been removed, because they had a weekly paper—India—which kept them well in view of all subjects connected with our Eastern dependency. He only wished that public men would study that paper. Of course they could not believe everything that appeared in it, because it had to give the reports of the speeches of the Secretary of State for India, which were not always based on facts. (Laughter.)

The Chairman, in acknowledging the compliment, said he wished to correct one little mistake in his opening remarks. He then referred to Mr. Chambers as a journalist; but their guest was really a civil engineer, and it was only as an occupation for his leisure time and as a means of doing public service that he published the *Bombay Champion*. He wished to express his gratitude personally to Mr. Chambers for his presence on that occasion, and also to thank him for bringing with him Mrs. Chambers. (Hear, hear.)

The proceedings shortly afterwards terminated.

III.—Some Opinions of the Press.

The *Daily Chronicle* (August 4) wrote:—Yesterday's breakfast at the Westminster Palace Hotel, given by Sir William Wedderburn to Mr. Chambers, the editor of the *Bombay Champion*, on his return from India, was a very interesting function. Mr. Chambers gave a very clear account of the recent events in India, and his praise of General Gatacre is fully borne out by the facts. Perhaps if that gallant officer had remained in charge, the Bombay riots would never have taken place. Mr. Chambers's account of the treatment of the Press did not seem to prove any very harsh treatment up to the present; but there is no doubt that the present Sedition Law gives an excessive power to the Indian Government, and may lead to oppressive measures in the hands of small officials.

The *Star* (August 4), in a leading article entitled *Plectuntur Achivi*, said:—There is a Hibernian description of Anglo-Indians as follows: "They goes to India, and they eats and they drinks, and they drinks and they eats, and then they dies. And then they goes home and says it was the climate that killed them." If the climate of India is blamed for Anglo-Indian indiscretions, the people of India are blamed for the blunders of the administration. This was made very clear by Mr. W. A. Chambers, editor of the *Bombay Champion*, in the instructive speech which he delivered at Westminster Palace Hotel yesterday, at a breakfast given in his honour by Sir W. Wedderburn, M.P. There is in India to-day a growing distrust between the people and the rulers. The duty of patriotic men, as Sir W. Wedderburn urged, is to reconcile the antagonism, and the first step is to get at the facts. The facts, as stated by Mr. Chambers, are clear enough. The new law of sedition has followed the troubles caused by the plague, and the troubles caused by the plague were due not to any political machinations—that is too silly a theory—but to want of tact and sympathy on the part of executive officers. Poona under Colonel Creagh and Bombay under General Gatacre were, in spite of the plague, a garden. Poona under Mr. Rand and Bombay under Sir James Campbell became a bear-garden. Yet it is the people who are blamed—not the defects of their rulers. As if too many of those rulers were not already sufficiently ignorant of the wishes of the people they dislike, the Government of India has sagaciously enacted a new law of sedition to stifle sincere writing and speaking, and "Press committees" are being formed for the better intimidation of the Indian journalist. The suicidal folly of this course is, one would have thought, obvious enough. What India wants is not repression, but kindly, sympathetic, and informed administration by men of the type of Mr. Allan Hume, who yesterday congratulated Mr. Chambers upon preserving intact the purity of sound principles in spite of some years' residence in India.

It may be mentioned that reports of the speeches were published by the *Daily Chronicle*, the *Daily News*, the *Manchester Guardian*, the *Morning Leader*, and other journals. A paragraph upon the matter was also telegraphed over the various tape machines, and appeared in the smoking-room of the House of Commons, the political clubs, and elsewhere.

Imperial Parliament.

Thursday, July 28.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

INADEQUATE PENSIONS.

Sir Seymour King asked the Secretary of State for India, whether 500 Native soldiers had returned from the campaign on the North-West Frontier of India maimed for life by the loss either of an arm or a leg:

Whether, under Army Regulations, Vol. I, Part II, the pension to which these maimed soldiers were entitled was five rupees, or 6s. 8d. per month, on which they were expected to maintain themselves and their families:

Whether he was aware that great discontent had been caused among the men themselves, and among the Sikhs generally, by the fact that those who came under the first class for simple wounds received four rupees a month, while those who were incapacitated in the manner indicated from further service, and in most cases from any work, received only five rupees:

And, whether he would consider the advisability of revising the regulations in the direction of more generous treatment of men who had been incapacitated in the service of the Queen-Empress.

Lord G. Hamilton: I am unable to give the number of Native soldiers who lost a limb in the recent operations. The pensions of private soldiers in such circumstances would vary, according to length of service, between five and ten rupees a month: a corporal might receive as much as fourteen and a-half rupees. I am not aware that any discontent on the subject of wound-pensions exists in the Native army: but, if it is so, I am confident that the Government of India must be conscious of the fact. In the absence of any representation from them, I do not propose to suggest any alteration in these pensions, which must of course be judged with reference to the general rate of wages and cost of living in India.

THE INDIAN "BUDGET."

Mr. Vicary Gibbs asked the Secretary of State for India, whether he was able to say on what day he would make his financial statement.

Lord G. Hamilton: I have already made one annual financial statement and I do not propose to make a second, but I propose to set up a committee upon Indian accounts, which will enable members of the House to call attention to questions connected with Indian administration in which they are interested.

Mr. Herbert Roberts asked the First Lord of the Treasury whether he would state on what date the Indian Budget would be taken.

Mr. Balfour: In all probability it will be taken on the same day

as the Committee stage of the Appropriation Bill. I cannot make an absolute pledge on the subject, but that has been the usual custom, and that custom will be followed probably in the present year.

Friday, July 29.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

INDIA OFFICE (STORE DEPOT) BILL.

The Earl of ONSLOW, in moving the second reading of this Bill, said its object was to enable the India Office to acquire compulsorily part of a site which was required for a Store Depôt.

The Bill was read a second time.

THE INDIAN TROOPS IN UGANDA.

The Earl of KIMBERLEY asked whether there had been any confirmation of the reports which had been published in the newspapers to the effect that there had been a severe engagement between the Indian troops in Uganda and the Soudanese, and that the Indian troops had suffered severe losses.

The Marquis of SALISBURY replied that no such information had reached the Government, but as the telegraph did not extend nearer than 400 miles from the area in which these events were said to have taken place, it was possible that others might have anticipated the official communication. His impression was that probably the reports in the newspapers were unintentionally exaggerated.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

COPYISTS AT THE INDIA OFFICE.

Colonel DALBIAC asked the Secretary of State for India, whether 10 copyists, who were employed at the India Office as such, were now in a class proceeding, as clerks, to £100 per annum by annual increments of £5, two were in a class going to £350 a year, and one in a class going from £250 to £500 per annum.

Lord G. HAMILTON: Of the ten men copyists to whom this question apparently refers, six are now in a class proceeding as clerks to £150 per annum by annual increments of 50s., but may hereafter, if specially recommended, be placed in a class in which the salaries rise to £250; two have been appointed second class clerks, and are in a class rising to a maximum of £250, but may hereafter be promoted to a higher grade in which the maximum salary is £350; one has been appointed on account of exceptional qualifications to a special post on a salary of £250, rising to £400.

THE CRAVING FOR MILITARY DECORATIONS.

Captain NORTON asked the Secretary of State for India whether he was aware that Lord Lansdowne, while Viceroy of India, strongly recommended the extension of the frontier medal for the operations in the Kachin Hills; and whether he would take the opinion of the Commander-in-Chief with respect to this matter.

Lord G. HAMILTON: I am aware of the fact mentioned by the hon. member, but, as I have already informed him, I have fully considered the case, and I have no intention of reversing the deliberate decision of my predecessor in office.

Captain NORTON: Will the noble lord not take into consideration the suggestion in the second paragraph of the question?

Lord G. HAMILTON: No.

THE PLAGUE CASE ON THE "CARTHAGE."

In reply to a question standing in the name of Mr. Havelock Wilson, Mr. RITCHIE said: My attention has not been called (except by the hon. member himself) to an outbreak of plague on the Peninsular and Oriental steamship "Carthage." From enquiries I have made I learn that one case did occur on the recent voyage from India, but that the patient was convalescent before the vessel arrived in the Thames. The man and his two attendants are now under observation by the port sanitary authority, by whom the vessel has been disinfected. I understand that the forecastle is virtually one space, and is occupied by seamen on one side and by firemen and trimmers on the other. The number carried in the space was 107—viz., 39 seamen and 68 firemen and trimmers, natives of India. The forecastle is not a certified space according to the Merchant Shipping Act, 1894, and is, therefore, not allowed as a deduction from the tonnage of the ship. It has been disallowed since March, 1896. The crew were engaged under Indian articles which allow of a less space than is required by the Imperial Act, but I understand that it is very largely in excess of that required by the Indian Act.

THE P. AND O. COMPANY: ALLEGED ILLEGALITY.

In the course of debate on a vote to complete the sum of £189,544 for the salaries and expenses of the Board of Trade,

Dr. CLARK drew attention to what he described as an infraction of the law by the P. and O. Steamship Company. Under the Merchant Shipping Act every ship must have 72 cubic feet of space for each seaman under a penalty of £20. The P. and O. Company were evading the Act in two ways. They ran their steamers to India, and under the Indian Act, though they were under the British registry, they were enabled to set aside much less cubic space for the seamen. The Board of Trade should see that the P. and O. Company carried out the law in providing proper space.

Mr. BALFOUR understood the P. and O. Company did as a matter of fact allot an amount of space to their Lascar seamen far in excess of what was required by law; it was 72 per cent. in excess of what they were bound to provide, and not much less than by law was allotted to English seamen. The British seamen had 72 cubic feet and the Lascar 62 cubic feet. He did not, however, propose to discuss the question of law, which could be raised in the courts if necessary; but he thought that the Committee ought not to keep up the discussion longer in view of the early meeting of the House next day. There were one or two non-contentious votes to be taken, and after that he suggested that the House should adjourn. He was further prepared to withdraw the vote for the present.

Monday, August 1.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

PETITIONS.

East India (Contagious Diseases),—Petitions against State regulations; from Bristol (five) and Kettering; to lie upon the Table.

THE INDIAN "BUDGET."

East India Revenue Accounts,—Ordered, That the several accounts and papers which have been presented to the House in this Session of Parliament relating to the revenues of India, be referred to the consideration of a Committee of the whole House.

Resolved, That this House will, upon Wednesday, resolve itself into the said Committee.—(Secretary Lord George Hamilton.)

PAPERS PRESENTED.

East India (Accounts and Estimates, 1898-9).—Copy presented of Appendices to the Explanatory Memorandum by the Secretary of State for India (by command); to lie upon the Table.

THE INDIAN TROOPS IN UGANDA.

The following question stood on the paper in the name of Mr. PIRIE: "To ask the Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs whether the Government are in a position to make any statement as to the military situation in Uganda; and whether troops sent by the Indian Government for the purpose of repressing the revolt in Uganda were detained at the coast by Sir Arthur Hardinge, and only proceeded to the interior owing to the action of the officer to whom the troops were directed and in defiance of the orders of Sir Arthur Hardinge."

Mr. CURZON: Although the hon. member is absent it may be desirable that I should answer this question, as it contains allegations about an officer. (Hear, hear.) The papers, which will be in the hands of hon. members to-morrow, bring the history of the military situation in Uganda down to the end of April. Since then we have not received any information justifying the alarmist rumours that have appeared in some quarters in the Press. Both of the statements contained in the second paragraph are untrue. Sir A. Hardinge did not detain the Indian troops at the coast; nor did they proceed to the interior in defiance of his orders. On the contrary, he did everything in his power to accelerate the despatch of reinforcements to Uganda; and the success of his efforts has been cordially recognised by the authorities in that Protectorate, as may be seen both from the Parliamentary papers already laid before Parliament as well as from those which will shortly be presented. (Hear, hear.)

THE "INDIAN COMMISSION."

Mr. BANBURY asked the Secretary of State for India when the evidence given before the Indian Commission was to be published.

Lord G. HAMILTON replied that the evidence was being printed, and would be published as soon as it was ready.

Tuesday, August 2.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

MR. THORBURN'S SPEECH AT SIMLA.

The Earl of NORTHBROOK rose to call attention to a statement made by Mr. Thorburn, Financial Commissioner in the Punjab, that 100,000 animals and 25,000 owners had been impressed in the Punjab for the recent frontier operations, and to move an address for copies of any correspondence between the Government of India and the Secretary of State for India in Council, and also between the Government of India and the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab, upon the subject. Mr. Thorburn in his speech declared that impressment was practised in the Punjab without discrimination, without system, and without organisation; that it entailed upon the rural population more suffering than would be necessary with system and organisation, and that of the men and animals impressed last October not one in five were sent to the front. Mr. Thorburn was probably the most competent authority in India on this matter, and his statements were not contradicted by any of the high officials present when the speech was made. Under what law did this impressment take place? He could not understand why men and animals could not be obtained without impressment; but, assuming that it was necessary, it should be exercised with the greatest care under proper regulations. Mr. Thorburn's was a very grave charge to bring against the administration, and it called for a very prompt remedy if true. An enquiry should be made and the result laid before Parliament. Under English administration the *corvée* in Egypt had been reformed, if not entirely abolished, although it was used for the protection of the country; and yet we were carrying out the system of impressment in one of the most loyal and important provinces of the Indian Empire. He should be glad to hear any explanation that there might be, and he begged to move for the correspondence on the subject.

The Earl of ONSLOW said that the notice given by the noble earl had been too short to enable the India Office to get any information from India. There was no correspondence between the Government of India and the Secretary of State, nor had the India Office any between the Government of India and the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab. No doubt such correspondence had taken place, and in due course it would be available in this country. At present there were only the statements in the Indian newspapers to go upon, and he was not able to say whether they were correct or incorrect; but Mr. Thorburn was in a position to have information on the subject to which his speech related, and therefore he would not now challenge the accuracy of the statement. But the circumstances in which the statement was made were somewhat peculiar. Mr. Thorburn was an eminent member of the Indian Civil Service, and he was also chairman of a committee which was appointed to enquire into this very subject. If Mr. Thorburn had these views as to the system of impressment in case of war, he had every opportunity of laying them before the Government in the report of his committee. It was not in

accordance with the practice either of this country or of India for a public servant, such as Mr. Thorburn was, to make publicly what could only be regarded as an attack on the policy of the Government which employed him. He believed that Mr. Thorburn had expressed his regret and apology to the Indian Government for the way in which his statements were laid before the public, and that that apology had been accepted. As to the practice of impressment, it was not carried out without proper legal sanction and authority; and in the Bengal Code there was a regulation dating from 1806 and amended in 1825 under which these proceedings were taken. That code had been applied to the whole of India, and it was hedged in with a number of safeguards against abuse. It was the duty of the Governor-General in case of war to call upon the landowners in the districts through which the troops would pass to furnish the necessary facilities. In case of their failing to do this, there was power to impose fines varying according to the circumstance in each case. That power was not entrusted to the sole authority of the collector, for a power of appeal to a Board of Revenue of the district was given. Even in England there was power to impress into service for the purposes of war the horses and other animals of private individuals, and therefore in that respect the people of India were not worse off—except in so far as war was of a more frequent occurrence in India—than the people of this country. The system of *corvée* in Egypt to which the noble earl had referred was not imposed for the purposes of war but for the civil purposes of preventing the overflow of the Nile, and therefore the conditions were not the same. If it were found possible to obtain the necessary animals for transport in those Indian expeditions by hire impressment was not resorted to. But it was asserted that the only arrangement the Native understood was the system of compulsion, and he was therefore obliged to sacrifice himself on the altar of duty to his country, and to accept double rates of hire for so doing. Full provision was made for compensation in those cases, and every precaution was taken by the Government of India to prevent any peculation in the payment of the Natives for their services on the part of subordinate officials.

The Earl of KIMBERLEY said he was glad to hear that Mr. Thorburn had apologised for his speech, for it was very undesirable that officials should take action of that kind. But as this speech was delivered on June 28 he could not help expressing his surprise that no steps had been taken by the Government to obtain information on the subject. It was one of the ordinary duties of the India Office to study the newspapers from India; and he should have thought that when a statement of this very serious character was brought under the notice of the Government no time would have been lost in asking information of the Government of India in the matter.

The Marquis of LANSDOWNE said it was unfortunate that this discussion should take place at a time when the House was still in doubt as to the precise facts. As the speech was delivered by Mr. Thorburn on June 28 it must be clear to the House that the full report in the local newspapers could only have reached this side just now. They all agreed that anything in the nature of force to impress service was odious, and should if possible be avoided. But in time of war, whether in India or elsewhere, it was impossible that they should not in the last resort rely upon impressed service of some kind or other; and, as a matter of fact, there had been no time in the history of India when the Government did not resort to the impressment either of men or animals in time of war. What the people of India were not used to was the idea of being liberally paid, as they were invariably when animals or carts were requisitioned for the service of the army. The practice was, in the first instance, for the local officers to endeavour to obtain the necessary transport animals by hire, and it was only when that failed that compulsion was resorted to. Of the 100,000 animals referred to in the question, a large number must have been obtained by hire and arrangement with the owners. He quite agreed that every effort should be made to mitigate the hardship of impressment, and this was done by the Government of India, first by the choice of local agents to prevent extortion, and secondly by maintaining in time of peace a considerable reserve of transport animals. Besides, the terms offered for this service by the Government of India were invariably liberal, and to a large number at all events of the owners of those transport animals the arrangement was a very profitable one, and one which they were extremely glad to accept.

The Earl of NORTHBROOK said he did not refer so much to the impressment of animals as to the impressment of men. He doubted whether any power existed in this country for the impressment of 25,000 men for transport service in time of war.

The Marquis of LANSDOWNE said the noble earl should be careful how he assumed that these 25,000 men were compulsorily impressed. It was perfectly clear that they could not all be compulsorily impressed; the large majority of them were probably hired with their animals, and he would ask the noble earl to suspend judgment on that point.

The Earl of NORTHBROOK said the statement was not denied on the spot by those who were perfectly competent to deny it if it was not true. He was sorry to hear the noble marquis trying to depreciate the importance of this question.

The Earl of ONSLOW said he would draw the attention of the Secretary of State to the matter. He did not know at that moment what the regulations were, but if they were material they should be laid on the table of the House.

The motion was by leave withdrawn.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

THE QUETTA-SISTAN ROUTE.

Dr. TANNER asked the Secretary of State for India if the question of opening up the trade route from Quetta to Sistan was being promoted; and whether, since the arrangement of the Baluch-Afghan boundary in 1897, serious attention had been directed to this question:

Whether any obstacle had been experienced from Persia in furtherance of a satisfactory arrangement about this route, and whether no more money was to be spent as alleged on the completion of the route:

And how many medical officers had been employed in connexion therewith for the past two years.

Lord G. HAMILTON: The answer to the question in the first paragraph of the hon. member's enquiry is in the affirmative. The Persian Government has interposed no difficulties in the way of developing the trade route, and the Secretary of State has for the current year retained the postal sowars who were employed while Surgeon-Major Brazier Creagh was on duty, and it has sanctioned the engagement of additional levies and small grants for tours and petty works. I presume that the hon. member refers in the last paragraph to the employment of Surgeon-Major Brazier Creagh, whose duties were political rather than medical. Since his return no other medical officer has been employed in connexion with the route.

Thursday, August 4.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

PETITIONS.

East India (Contagious Diseases), petitions against State regulation; from Peckham, Bristol (two), Stoke Newington, Halifax (seven), and Pateley Bridge; to lie upon the Table.

THE NAWAB OF DIR AND THE POLITICAL DEPARTMENT.

Mr. HERBERT ROBERTS asked the Secretary of State for India whether the Nawab of Dir, who was waging war against the Bajauri tribes, was related to Umra Khan, against whom a British force was sent in 1895 or whether he had any tribal connexion with that chief, and where did he now reside:

Whether the original arrangement as to subsidies made in 1895 between the Indian Government and the Nawab was upon the basis of annual payments to him of Rs. 60,000 on account of levies, and of Rs. 10,000 for tolls on the road to Chitral:

Whether these annual payments had subsequently been increased, and whether he could state what they amounted to at present:

And, in reference to the present hostilities, whether he would state whether the Political Department was cognisant of the Nawab's recent proceedings, and whether the Political Agent at Chakdara, on the Chitral road, had information of this chief's preparations to attack the Bajauris.

Lord G. HAMILTON: I am not aware of any relationship between the Nawab of Dir and Umra Khan, against whose brothers and cousins the Nawab's recent expedition was conducted. The original arrangement mentioned in the second question was upon the basis described, and the annual payments have not been increased. The answer to the two enquiries made in the fourth and last paragraph of the question is in the affirmative. The Political Agent did his utmost to discourage the participation of the Nawab in the Bajauri quarrel.

EMPLOYMENT OF INDIAN TROOPS BEYOND THE INDIAN FRONTIERS.

Mr. HERBERT ROBERTS asked the Secretary of State for India, whether he would lay before Parliament a statement showing what regiments and detachments of the Indian Army were now employed in Africa or elsewhere outside her Majesty's Indian possessions, also what Indian forces were now stationed beyond the borders of India in Waziristan, in the Zhob Valley, at Lundi Kotal, and in the garrisons along the road to Chitral:

And, whether he would include in such a Return, copies of the references to the orders under which such employment of troops belonging to the military establishments of British India had been sanctioned, together with specific information as to the funds from which the charges of such troops were defrayed.

Lord G. HAMILTON: The only Indian forces now employed in Africa or elsewhere beyond seas are as follows:—

In Africa, the 27th Bombay Infantry and a wing of the 4th Bombay Infantry.

In Mauritius, the 1st Bengal Infantry.

The cost of these troops is entirely defrayed from non-Indian revenues. As regards the strength of the forces now stationed at Waziristan, in the Zhob Valley, at Lundi Kotal, and along the Chitral road, I am not prepared to give a return in detail, but it may perhaps be sufficient for the hon. member's purpose to know that the troops which are stationed in those places are paid for from Indian revenues, and that they are so employed under orders from the Government of India, with the sanction of the Secretary of State for India in Council.

THE SUPERIOR EDUCATIONAL SERVICE.
EXCLUSION OF INDIAN CANDIDATES.

Sir WILLIAM WEDDERBURN asked the Secretary of State for India, native Indians being and having always been eligible for appointments to the superior educational service of India, would he state the number of applications for such appointments received from native Indians since the appointment of Mr. P. Mukerjee in 1881, and give the names of the applicants and the result of their applications:

And had any single native been appointed to one of these posts since Mr. P. Mukerjee was appointed in 1881.

Lord G. HAMILTON: No record has been kept of applications for educational appointments, whether by natives of India or others; such matters having been treated as personal by each successive Secretary of State. I am therefore unable to give the information asked for in the first part of this question. As regards the second

part of it, I cannot say how many Natives have been appointed since 1881, but the number is not large.

THE WAR BEYOND THE FRONTIER. IMPRESSMENT IN THE PUNJAB.

Mr. Pickersgill asked the Secretary of State for India whether his attention had been drawn to the statement made by Mr. Thorburn, Financial Commissioner in the Punjab, that 100,000 animals and 25,000 owners were impressed in the Punjab for the recent frontier operations, and that impressment was practised in the Punjab without discrimination, without system, and without organisation:

And, would he state under what authority the impressment of the men for transport service was purported to be made.

Lord G. Hamilton: My attention has been drawn to the statement referred to by the honourable member, and I am now in communication with the Viceroy on the subject.

Notice has been given of the following motions (on going into Committee on East India Revenue Accounts):—

Mr. Herbert Roberts,—To move: That, in the opinion of this House, the recent alterations made in the Law relating to sedition and the control of the Press in India, being a distinct departure from the traditional policy of the Indian Government in regard to the Press and to public criticism, demand the immediate attention of Parliament; and that, having regard to the conditions of British rule in India and to the exceptional part played by the Indian Press as the only medium for expressing the opinion of the people as to Government measures, and to the fact that such a policy of restriction and intimidation must, if persisted in, result in producing elements of danger to the Government of India, it is desirable that the legislation in question should be repealed at the earliest opportunity.

Mr. Samuel Smith,—To move: That, in view of the poverty of India, aggravated by plague, famine, and war, and the unsatisfactory state of its finances, a more economical administration is urgently needed, also a better system of raising the revenue, and some aid for the country in regard to special expenditure on the North-West frontier.

Sir Mancherjee Bhownaggree,—To move: That, in the opinion of this House, the system of education at present pursued in British India has proved ineffectual to direct the attention and energies of its people to technical and industrial pursuits, with the result that the productive power of the country has been arrested, making it more and more dependent on foreign manufactures; that as a consequence considerable sections of its population are rendered helpless, and a sense of discontent is growing up among those classes who, having come under the influence of such education, look to Government only to provide them with the means of livelihood; and that therefore this House considers that the time has arrived when a change should be made in the system of public instruction in India, and other adequate measures adopted with a view to remedying these evils.

Mr. James Stuart,—To call attention to the action of the Government of India in reference to the despatch of the Secretary of State for India of 26th March of last year; and to move a resolution.

ET CAETERA.

The P. and O. s.s. "Egypt," from Bombay, is due in London on August 6; her list of passengers includes the following names:—General Cooke, Colonel G. Hawkes, Mr. M. U. Myelliveger, General Sir G. Wolseley, Sir Chas. Lyall, Lady and the Misses Lyall, Colonel F. A. Plowden, Captain the Hon. H. G. Heneage, Mr. Bohum, Colonel E. H. Wilson and Mrs. and the Misses Wilson, Mr. H. Sevestre, Major General E. S. Brook and Mrs. Brook and child, Colonel W. Prior, Colonel H. E. Wheatley, and Colonel H. A. Aylmer.

The s.s. "Carthage (P. and O.), which left London for Bombay on August 3, carried among other passengers the following:—Colonel R. B. Adams, Mr. and Mrs. Bannerjee, Colonel K. Y. L. Beavan, Mr. A. W. G. Chuckerberthy, Lieut.-Colonel and Mrs. G. H. B. Coats, Major Cunliffe, Mr. A. Monro, Major E. A. Garland, Dr. Radford, Dr. W. Turner, Major J. E. Holloway, Major J. B. Murdock, and Dr. Stalaby.

The Orient r.m.s. "Cuzco" leaves London on August 19 for Sydney, etc. The following names are included in her passenger list:—Mr. B. Bauliah Naidu, Mrs. Bauliah Naidu, and Mr. Kundosamy Naidu.

The Secretary of State for India has appointed Commander George Talbot Wingfield, R.N., to be Superintendent of the India Store Depôt in succession to the late Lieutenant-Colonel D. O'Brien, R.E.

The Queen has been pleased to approve the appointment of the Reverend James Edward Cowell Welldon, Headmaster of Harrow School, to be Bishop of Calcutta and Metropolitan Bishop in India and the Island of Ceylon, in succession to Bishop Johnson, who has resigned for reasons of health. Mr. Welldon has held the Headmastership of Harrow since 1885. The Rev. James Edward Cowell Welldon is the son of the Rev. Edward Welldon, master of Tonbridge School, and was born at Tonbridge in 1854. He obtained a scholarship at Eton, and afterwards at King's College, Cambridge. He was Carus prizeman in 1873, Bell's University scholar in 1874, Browne's medallist in 1875-76, and Craven scholar in 1876. He took his B.A. degree (Senior Classic and Senior Chancellor's medallist) in 1877, and in the following year was elected a Fellow of King's. After taking his M.A. degree in 1880, he was ordained deacon in 1883, and entered the priesthood two years later. He was appointed master of Dulwich College in 1883, and remained there until 1885, when he was elected Headmaster of Harrow School. In 1889 he served on the Royal Commission which considered the scheme for the establishment of a teaching University for London. He was the select preacher at Cambridge in 1885, 1888, and 1893, and at Oxford in 1886-87. From 1889 to 1892 he was Honorary Chaplain to the Queen, and since 1892 he has been Chaplain-in-Ordinary to her Majesty. In 1897 he became Hulsean lecturer at Cambridge. Mr. Welldon is the author of a "Translation of the Politics of Aristotle, with Analysis and Notes," published in 1885; the "Rhetoric of Aristotle, with Analysis and Notes," 1886; "The Nicomachean Ethics, with Analysis and Notes," 1892; "Sermons in 1885 and 1886 to Harrow Boys," 1887, with a second series published in 1891; "The Scriptural Life," 1888; and "Gerald Eversley's Friendship," 1895.

The annual Railway Conference, under the presidency of the Viceroy, will assemble in Simla soon after August 15. More than one Anglo-Indian journal received by the last mail expresses the view that with so many lines already sanctioned or actually under construction, Lord Elgin may naturally hesitate to commit his successor to more big projects.

The reports of fighting on the Indian frontier between the Nawab of Dir and the Bajauris (writes the *Manchester Guardian*) need surprise no one. The Nawab of Dir is the chief who, in return for a handsome subsidy, patrols the road to Chitral for us, and the Bajauris are an important tribe living between Chitral and the Mohmund country, through whose territory the road passes. Not only have there been persistent rumours of late of impending trouble on this part of the frontier, but it will be remembered that last April an attempt was made to assassinate the Nawab. The Nawab stinks in the nostrils of these tribes as the friend of the British, and the renewal of these disturbances is precisely what has been expected by those who know the frontier best, so persistent are the bad consequences of that lamentable breach of faith the construction of the Chitral road. It is to be hoped that now, at any rate, the last has been heard of the argument that the tribes willingly acquiesced in the making of this road. About the only person who did acquiesce was the Nawab (then the Khan) of Dir, and that because his khanate was not worth an hour's purchase without our help. Fortunately the Nawab seems to have been able to hold his own, and we hope that he may continue to do so, for his defeat would isolate Chitral and might necessitate another relief expedition.

It is clear (the *Pioneer* thinks) that both Scotland and the Cabinet are disinclined to let Lord Balfour of Burleigh come to India, nor is the disinclination difficult to explain, as Lord Balfour is admitted on all hands to have been a conspicuous success as Secretary of State for Scotland. On the other hand it can hardly be supposed that the ranks of the Unionist party could not supply another Secretary who would carry on the affairs of the Scotch Office without inflicting irreparable injury on Scotch interests; and if the interests of the Empire clearly rendered it desirable that Lord Balfour should for a time take up the heavier burdens and the vastly graver responsibilities of the Indian Viceroyalty, we cannot believe that Scotland would ask him to refuse the call. And there can be no doubt that, if we except Lord Cromer, Lord Balfour's is, of all those which have been mentioned in connexion with the succession to Lord Elgin, the name which inspires most confidence. Among those who are understood to be candidates there are certainly some whose past record or future promise is more brilliant; there is, for instance, Lord Roberts, with his long list of splendid achievements in the past, and there is Mr. George Curzon, one of the most shining of the lights which have recently risen on the Parliamentary horizon. In these cases, however, there are strong objections, not in respect of attainments or abilities, but on the ground of public identification with pronounced opinions upon certain great questions of policy with regard to which it is of the utmost importance that the Viceroy should have an open mind. Lord Balfour has no predilections of any kind; but his work at the Scotch Office has shown him to be possessed of a sound judgment, a quite exceptional capacity for work and mastery of detail, and an impartiality which bends only to the sway of the facts. "He sets himself," wrote a private correspondent recently, "a straightforward and honest policy, which he carries out. Faddists, time-servers and others of the same kidney meet with no sympathy with him, though he is always most courteous to all the numerous deputations that assail the Scottish Office. It would need a very strong man or party indeed to force his hand." As to age Lord Balfour is just fifty, which is not prohibitive—Lord Dufferin was fifty-eight when he came to India; while as to physique, though the telegram would seem to indicate the contrary, the Secretary of State for Scotland has been understood to be of a more than ordinarily robust constitution.

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